“Instruments of Peace?”
Franciscans as Peacemakers in Sri Lanka
During and After the Civil War

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Abstract

People of religious belief are uniquely placed to become engaged in active forms of peacemaking *as* religious peacebuilders. There is, however, little research into how particular religious groups have been able to draw on their deeply held religious values and experiences to respond as peacemakers to the violence around them. This thesis is an attempt to explore part of this research gap by studying Franciscans during the civil war in Sri Lanka (1983-2009) and in the following years.

The research question, "What are the factors motivating decisions for active peacemaking engagement by Franciscans living in Sri Lanka?" breaks down into three dimensions: the roles of (a) faith, (b) life in religious community and (c) Franciscan identity. These were looked at through the theoretical perspectives of frame alignment and resource mobilisation. The research propositions that emerged were explored through a convergent parallel mixed methods approach using a written questionnaire, individual interviews and group discussions in a variety of field locations in Sri Lanka in 2013 and 2014.

The findings fall into three groups:

Faith. A narrow fundamentalist style of faith was negatively correlated with a range of peacemaking activities during the conflict and immediately afterwards. Conversely, a style of faith that appreciated the wisdom of other faiths was positively correlated with active peacemaking from during the conflict through to the current period.

Community Life. Those living in healthily functional communities were able to engage as *communities* with those around them, using their community life to create radical new forms of presence with others. Those living in less functional communities were more likely to be engaged in individual ministries and to lack resilience in the face of external difficulties.

Franciscan Identity. The Franciscans observed fell into several distinct groups. There was a small elite with a high knowledge of Franciscan sources whose peacemaking was predominantly in high profile elite and leadership roles. There was also a larger set with less knowledge of the sources but who were involved in peacemaking within an existing community ministry, or as individuals. Finally, there was a distinct group with very little knowledge of Francis but a strongly devotional, pietistic approach, whose ministry as peacemakers focused on prayer and pastoral visits.

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Abbreviations

ACTC	All Ceylon Tamil Congress
CCFMC	Comprehensive Course on Franciscan Missionary Charism
CMRS	Conference of Major Religious Superiors
CMSF	Missionary Brothers of St Francis of Assisi
DPI	Damietta Peace Initiative
FI	Franciscans International
FP	Federal Party
FSPR	Franciscan Solidarity for Peace and Reconciliation
GoSL	Government of Sri Lanka
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IPKF	Indian Peacekeeping Force
JPIC	Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front)
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MZF	Missionszentrale der Franziskaner
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum (Order of Friars Minor)
OFM Cap	Ordo Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum (Order of Friars Minor Capuchin)
OFM Conv	Ordo Fratrum Minorum Conventualium (Order of Friars Minor Conventual)
OFS	Ordo Franciscanus Saecularis (Secular Franciscan Order)
RSS	Religious Schema Scale
SLFP	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
SLMC	Sri Lanka Muslim Congress
SLMM	Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission
SMO	Social Movement Organisation
SSF	Society of St Francis
TNT	Tamil New Tigers
TOR	Franciscans Third Order Regular
TULF	Tamil United Liberation Front
UNP	United National Party

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Transcriptions

The quotations from interviews and group discussions are quoted as transcribed with the casual speech patterns of spoken English. Participants are coded with a letter and random digit, e.g. S01 (for a sister), F01 (for a friar), W01 (for a Secular Franciscan). These codes may seem impersonal, but the decision was made to do this, rather than use randomly chosen or participant-chosen names, since this would not be practicable in the ethnically mixed Catholic Church where some Christian names are traditional Sinhalese, others are Tamil, and others are Western style names. Likewise, the names of congregations are represented by code, e.g. S1 for a congregation of sisters and F1 for one of friars.

Ellipses (…) are used to indicate omissions for the sake of brevity or clarity.
Italics to indicate a spoken emphasis in the original recording.
An em dash (—) to indicate a pause.
Square brackets [ ] to indicate editorial additions to clarify meaning or ensure readability. Where there were difficulties in transcription the conjectured text is placed in square brackets with a question mark.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1. 1 Overview

Religion can function either as a resource for peace or for violence (e.g. Appleby 2000, 2003, Ter Haar and Busuttil 2005, Thomas 2005, McClymond and Freedman 2008, Cavanaugh 2009, Hertog 2010, Funk and Woolner 2011). However, there is a growing understanding of what religious actors, *as* religious actors, can bring as peacemakers in situations of violent conflict (e.g. Johnston and Sampson 1994), when they draw on the peace-oriented traditions or scriptures of their own religions (e.g. Gopin 2002, Bartoli 2004, Van Butselaar 2005), and also when they find opportunities for service in civil society (e.g. Harpviken and Røislien 2005, Kollontai 2008, Brewer, Higgins, and Teeney 2010). Examples of this are seen in the historic peace churches (Mennonites, Quakers and Church of the Brethren) who became more active in peacemaking by looking for ways in which their pacifist orientation could be given practical shape and significance (e.g. Yarrow 1978, Barbour and Frost 1988, Bowman 1995, Miller 2000, Koontz 2007). Similarly, faith-based humanitarian NGOs (e.g. Caritas and the Community of Sant'Egidio) deliberately expanded their mission to include peacemaking.[1]

This thesis is concerned with Franciscans, i.e. the members of the various religious orders founded or inspired by Francis of Assisi (1182-1226). Although the original Franciscan movement was noted for its pacifism and peacemaking it was not like the historic peace churches which radically separated from both the secular and religious worlds around them. Franciscans remained in the Catholic Church, loyal to its official programmes in many ways. Neither can the various Franciscan congregations be considered the same as faith-based humanitarian organisations, or individual Franciscans as workers in an NGO. Franciscans are people who have responded to a sense of religious calling ("vocation") to devote their lives to living in community with other Franciscans, and to sharing the good news of Jesus Christ with those their lives bring them into contact. Hence, although the existing studies related to religious peacemaking or to faith-based

1. The literature related to this is more thoroughly covered in Chapter 2.

NGOs offer some useful insights they do not precisely address the situation of religious groups such as Franciscans who are engaged in multiple forms of service, inside the church and outside it, and who live in community with other Franciscans.

Francis of Assisi was the founder of a religious movement whose members preached and worked for peace only as *part* of their overall programme. This movement took the form of various officially recognised religious orders, which over time became institutionalised and underwent phases of reform and division in response to the challenge of attempting renewed fidelity to the original Franciscan vision. These orders have been used in various ways for church programmes of mission or pastoral ministry and as projections of ecclesial power. However, despite the original characteristic of Franciscans as medieval peacemakers and contemporary attempts to revive elements of the early Franciscan spirit under a broad umbrella which also covers justice and care for creation, active peacemaking by Franciscans seems to be somewhat problematic today. An initial survey of international level Franciscan Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation (JPIC) offices showed that, although, in a range of countries and situations, there was some Franciscan activity in areas such as peace education, facilitating understanding between parties in conflict, and arranging prayer for peace and similar liturgical events, there was frustration that more engaged forms of activity were felt to be blocked due to internal factors such as local opposition or apathy within Franciscan communities or by provincial leadership, or external church pressure. (These difficulties are not confined to active work for peace, but were noted in other areas of JPIC, and are also related to the difficulties of staffing ministries in countries which are experiencing declining and ageing Franciscan membership).

In some places, however, there were specific Franciscan initiatives for peace, especially in countries which had high levels of local violence and also higher numbers of young vocations. One of these was Sri Lanka which is why I decided to undertake an in-depth single-country study of Franciscans living and working in Sri Lanka.[2] These Franciscans have experienced and suffered in Sri Lanka's nearly 30-year long civil war. Although there is peace now, there remain many deep political and social wounds. Franciscans are active particularly at the grassroots level where their pastoral contact takes

2. The Franciscans in Sri Lanka are not a single entity, but represent a wide variety of different Franciscan congregations, each with its own characteristics.

them among many of those who still suffer the traumatic consequences of the war. Additionally, many Franciscans themselves carry their own wounds of grief as well as the struggles of living in community with others, while at the same time feeling the expectation of being signs of hope and healing to others.

1. 2 The Research Gap and Formulation of Research Question

The wider aspects of religious peacemaking such as how, when and why religious peacemakers intervene between conflicting parties, or what such peacemaking looks like is a growing field of scholarly research. However, there is little research into how particular groups, for whom peacemaking is only one task among many, have been able to draw on their deeply held religious values and experiences in responding as peacemakers to the violence around them. By studying Franciscans, this thesis is an attempt to explore part of this research gap, firstly in order to contribute to the broader study of religious peacemaking, and secondly, to offer insights which may be of specific use to Franciscans or similar religious groups.

Franciscans have a traditional value of being "lesser" or working in small ways (known technically as "minority" from the Latin *minoritas*) in local communities. Being present mainly at grassroots level their activities are unlikely to attract attention and be recorded. Although there is a substantial body of Franciscan literature about the values of Franciscan peacemaking and particular peacemaking acts in the life of Francis, Franciscans have been little studied from an academic point of view as contemporary peacemakers. An exception to this is the literature on the 20th century Balkans conflict which mentions not only Franciscan complicity in the violence (Winslow 2002, Sells 2003, Steele 2003), but on the other side peacebuilding initiatives by particular friars (Peuraca 2003, Steele 2003, Little and Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding 2007).

Likewise, the literature about religious peacemakers in Sri Lanka, e.g. Spencer et al. (2015) which includes a study of Catholic *clergy*, does not analyse the work of religious *sisters* or (unordained) *brothers*.

The particular gap which this study addresses is that of Franciscans (particularly friars and sisters) as religious actors responding to the conflict around them in Sri Lanka and is formulated in the following research question.

What are the factors motivating decisions for active peacemaking engagement by Franciscans living in Sri Lanka?

The responses made by Franciscans in Sri Lanka could be any of a number of different forms of peacemaking, including such specifically religious responses as prayer, silence or ritual. In a sense these responses form the dependent variable. The question then is, what is associated with these particular responses?

Questions which flow from this research question include: *What forms of active peacemaking do Franciscans practice? Does this engagement lead them to active political involvement or prophetic "truth-telling"? Or do they focus on pastoral responses to those in need around them? What factors affect these responses? How do they draw on their faith? How does their life in community affect this response? What is the role of their particular Franciscan identity and self-understanding?*

These questions touch on such aspects as the potential of Franciscan peacemaking, the role of the contemporary JPIC programme, the gap between ideal and reality in a life based on a religious foundation, and the difference between Franciscans and other groups with a religious peace tradition who have developed what is perhaps more active and focused work for peace.

The research does not attempt to identify possible causal factors. That would require establishing a causal mechanism able to be verified longitudinally. Rather, the attempt is to understand Franciscans and their responses to the violence around them.

1. 3 Definitions and Concepts

1. 3. 1 Peacemaking

Peacemaking is defined very broadly here as deliberate engagement in any activities which are aimed at resolving or transforming conflict or promoting long-term peace. This broad definition aims to encompass the range of potential activities undertaken by Franciscans.

Preliminary research indicated the most likely forms of peacemaking to be at grassroots level and principally in "small ways" through responding to the challenges of regular pastoral ministries.

Sampson (2007) grouped case studies of religious conflict intervention into four broad categories of "advocate, intermediary, observer, and educator." These categories cover a range of activities which fall under this broad definition of peacemaking, as potentially engaged in by Franciscans.

> Religiously motivated advocates are primarily concerned with empowering the weaker party(ies) in a conflict situation, restructuring relationships, and transforming unjust social structures. Intermediaries devote themselves to the task of peacemaking, focusing their efforts on bringing the parties together to resolve their differences and reach a settlement. Observers offer themselves as a physical and moral presence in a conflict setting, in hopes of preventing violence and transforming the conflict dynamics. Educators lay the groundwork for conflict transformation by conveying to others—whether in the classroom, the training seminar, or experientially—the knowledge and skills of conflict transformation and peacebuilding (Sampson 2007, 280).

In addition to these, some specifically religious activities have been identified such as inter- and intra-faith dialogue (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana, and Abu-Nimer 2005), or ritual elements such as prayer or meditation (Daffern 2008). These specifically religious elements have a particular significance when undertaken by religious actors as *religious* actors since by drawing on the moral authority of the religious institution they can employ the power of religious action and language. (An example could be public prayer in places of political significance).

1. 3. 2 Faith and Belief

Faith and belief are related concepts and an important aspect of this study.

The Oxford Dictionaries give two definitions of belief as:

(1) Something one accepts as true or real; a firmly held opinion.
(2) A religious conviction. (Oxford Dictionaries n.d.-a)

The same source defines faith as "strong belief in the doctrines of a religion, based on spiritual conviction rather than proof" (Oxford Dictionaries n.d.-b). This definition, by limiting faith to "strong belief" fails to capture the multiple aspects of faith, at least from a Christian perspective where faith is also a principle round which life and action are ordered. A better definition is suggested by the subheadings under the entry on "faith" in The Cambridge *Dictionary of Christianity*: "faithfulness," "trust," "believing a speaker's words [about something]," "faith, knowledge, understanding and reason,"

"movement toward, and experience of, God" and "gift" (TeSelle and Patte 2010). These definitions touch on more than deeply held belief but include faith as a position which shapes how one stands in relation to others, as well as one's experience of God. Such faith is suprarational, and indescribable except through metaphorical language. However, this definition only hints at how faith can be a driver for socio-political action.

For Neal, a definition of belief needs to recognise the "relationship between religious commitment and social action in the direction of risk and involvement in social change" (Neal 1970, 10). For this study, a working definition of belief is that stated by Neal as the "complex of qualities related to specific cognitive sets associated by the actor with his conceptions of a creed, a code, and a cult that express for him his understanding of, and feelings about, what has ultimate meaning, couched in terms that are used by groups of people who, within a range, share similar understandings". In these terms she claims that belief is "a major determinant of the social behaviour of members of religious orders" (9).

Faith can then be described more as the stance of the individual whose life is oriented around a particular set of religious beliefs. Such an orientation is potentially a driver of social action.

1. 3. 3 Religious Community Life: Congregations, Provinces and Communities

There are different forms of recognised religious community life in the Catholic Church with names such as Orders or Religious Institutes. For convenience they are usually referred to under the umbrella term of "**congregations**." This includes the larger orders (such as the Order of Friars Minor) or congregations (such as the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary) which have members in many countries. It can also include the smaller orders and congregations, some of which are only in one country or even only in one diocese. Generally, each congregation has its own founder and charism, as well as means of training or formation.

The larger congregations are divided into **provinces**. Some provinces are further divided geographically. In the larger congregations there are usually regional or language groupings of provinces.

Within each Franciscan congregation of sisters or of friars its members live in local **communities** such as friaries or convents. (Members of the Secular Franciscan Order live in ordinary daily life either singly or in their family homes).

There are other groupings such as national bodies (such as conferences of major superiors—i.e. provincial leaders). Also, within the wider Franciscan family there are some inter-Franciscan bodies with specific purposes such as JPIC.

1. 3. 4 Franciscans

A Franciscan is someone who is a member of one of the religious congregations which identifies its ethos or particular character as Franciscan in some way. Some Franciscan congregations are direct descendants of the original fraternity which gathered round Francis of Assisi. Others were founded more recently.

These Franciscans consist of

- Men living in community who are known as friars. These are further subdivided by those who have been ordained (as deacon, priest or bishop) and those who have remained unordained as lay brothers.
- Women living in community who are known as sisters.
- Men and women living not in community but in ordinary daily life, in their families or singly. These are known as Secular Franciscans. The original intention was to exclude them from the study because their secular life gives them a different dimension to the friars and sisters, and also because they are numerous and in many locations.
- Sisters of the Order founded by St Clare of Assisi (1194-1253). They are known as Poor Clare nuns (for their particular emphasis on poverty) and usually live and work in enclosure, not travelling outside their monasteries. For this reason, they were not included in this study.

The Franciscans included in this study are all members of one of the Catholic Franciscan congregations in Sri Lanka. There is considerable variety not only between Franciscan congregations, but within the larger ones, hence part of the context of this study is that there is no single "Franciscan Order," but rather, multiple ways of "being Franciscan."

1. 4 Theoretical Perspective

This thesis analyses the role of faith, community life and Franciscan identity in motivating, guiding and sustaining active engagement in peacemaking by Franciscans. These are looked at through two related theoretical lenses from the field of social movement theory: frame alignment and resource mobilisation. These theories have been used to understand how people working in social movements become engaged in some form of action, and how these movements sustain themselves over the longer term, but have been little used to study religious communities.[3] Weber (1963) conceptualised total religious dedication and focus as *virtuosity*; a theory applied by Hill (1973a) and Wittberg (1994) to help understand how people with a strong sense of religious commitment formed and joined religious communities to express that commitment. Wittberg further developed this thought by applying frame alignment and resource mobilisation theories as a tool for analysing how religious communities were formed in response to the deep needs of their time, and how these communities mobilised the necessary support and used boundary mechanisms to support this.

These theories are here applied to faith, community life and Franciscan identity to study how an existing community can change its ministries in response to the needs and context of the time, taking on new ways of living and relating to other people, and discontinuing other ways.

1. 5 Findings

Out of the approximately 400 Franciscan sisters and friars in Sri Lanka approximately 100 took part in the interviews, group discussions and questionnaires. Additionally, of the several thousand Secular Franciscans there, some twenty participated in the fieldwork. This opportunistic sample, focused mainly on the areas where conflict had been most intense, was not generally representative of the overall Franciscan population, although it was representative of Franciscans in the areas studied.

The main findings fall into three groups. **Religious Faith** was related in various ways to active peacemaking, as seen principally in the quantitative data. Generally, those

3. Wittberg (1994) is the only such known study.

of a more fundamentalist faith, although perhaps reporting some involvement in a range of peacemaking activities in the past, were less likely to be currently involved. Those of a faith which valued the wisdom of "the other" were comparatively more likely to be engaged in peacemaking, both previously and currently. The qualitative data illustrates this by showing that those who described their faith in more open ways also described their ability in reframing their ministries, drawing on their faith as a resource in response to the challenge of interfaith relationships. **Community Life** was also related to active engagement in peacemaking although in a rather more nuanced way. Both those in communities with healthy functional community relationships and also those in communities with relatively unhealthy relationships were engaged in various peacemaking activities, but for those from the communities with more functional relationships their peacemaking seemed more resilient and flexible and able to draw on the experience of community life as a resource for peacemaking. **Franciscan Identity** was seen in several different "roles" of Franciscan peacemaking each of which generated different types of behaviour. For example, those who experienced Francis in a devotional way as personal healer spoke of peacemaking with others through prayer for healing; those who not only had some kind of personal relationship with Francis but who had had opportunity for more study about him were able to draw on a wider range of knowledge of Franciscan texts as a resource and bring greater flexibility in framing their peacemaking.

1. 6 Structure of Thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. After this Introduction, Chapter 2 is a **Literature Review** in two parts. Part One considers religion and peace, looking at theoretical approaches to the religious dimensions of peace, conflict and peacemaking; the roles of religious peacemakers; historic peace churches and Catholic peacemaking. The aim is to situate Franciscans as sharing some, but not all, of the characteristics of religious peacemakers. Part Two examines some of the literature concerning religious community life, particularly the organised forms it takes in the Catholic Church (of which Franciscans are a subset), the process of renewal undertaken since the Second Vatican Council and how active engagement with socio-political issues is related to faith and community life. This establishes some factors potentially relating Franciscans to active engagement in peacemaking.

Chapter 3 is in three parts. Part One considers **Theory**, using frame alignment and resource mobilisation theories to explore how religious communities can make radical changes for socio-political engagement. Part Two then uses these theories to construct **Research Propositions** relating to religious faith and also community life as factors associated with such engagement. Part Three outlines the research **Methodology**. This begins with a report on an exploratory survey of Franciscans, noting how for them "work for peace" is at times a problematic form of engagement. This section also covers the reasons for choosing an in-depth single-country study, and for conducting this as mixed methods research. It concludes with the construction of specific research methods related to the research propositions and consideration of the identity of the researcher and his relationship to the field of research.

Chapter 4, in two parts, considers the context. Part One introduces **Francis of Assisi** as a man of peace, who inspired a movement which became a structured religious order, in which peace is only one of many values. It considers modern scholarly interpretations of Francis as a man of peace, noting the range of views from radical pacifism through to loyal servant of the church. The section on Franciscans in history notes the often ambivalent responses of Franciscans, especially when they have been serving as agents of ecclesial or political power. Franciscans have attempted to regain some of the early Franciscan radicalism through the programme known as Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation (JPIC), but this is problematic in that it seems not to have universally created a way for Franciscans to engage in socio-political action. This part concludes by deriving two research propositions relating Franciscan identity to engagement in socio-political action, through the theories of frame alignment and resource mobilisation. It then constructs some specific research methods to examine these research propositions. Part Two of this chapter concerns Sri Lanka: its ethnic and religious background, colonial history, the struggle for independence, the trajectory of the conflict and attempts at peacemaking and the consequences of the war. It concludes with a consideration of the role of NGOs and civil society and the Catholic Church as peacemaker.

Chapter 5 presents an **Overview of the Data** and fieldwork. An initial analysis of the interview and group discussion data notes the emerging themes, and tentatively suggests various roles of Franciscan peacemakers. The quantitative data derived from the questionnaire is examined for reliability and its overall characteristics noted in this section.

The following three chapters present the main analysis and discussion of qualitative and quantitative data for each of the three perspectives of **Living in Faith** (Chapter 6), **Living in Community** (Chapter 7), and **Living as a Franciscan** (Chapter 8). After considering the qualitative and quantitative data separately for each, they are then brought together in discussion on the research propositions addressed in each chapter.

Finally, Chapter 9 presents an overall **Conclusion**.

Several Appendices contain other material for reference: (1) a glossary, (2) selected Franciscan peace texts, (3) the fieldwork questionnaire, (4) overall summaries of the questionnaire results, (5), (7) and (9) tables of the results of the logistic regression analysis performed in chapters 6-8, and (6) and (8) analysis of Franciscan themes from official congregational websites.

1. 7 Limitations of the Research

A number of potential limitations are noted as they arise and discussed there. These include the potential bias arising from conducting the fieldwork in a concentration of particular regions, rather than as a randomised sample. Another limitation is that although there were more than 100 respondents to the questionnaire this could be at times too small for useful analysis of subgroups.

The researcher is himself a Franciscan, and thus potentially biased, even though different from participants in other characteristics. This potential bias however can be offset by partial insider knowledge and easy access to Franciscan participants.

Although the study is an in-depth one of Franciscans in Sri Lanka, as the research was analysed it became obvious that “in-depth” is a relative term. The differences between individual Franciscan congregations are substantial and a greater depth could have been reached by focusing on only one or two congregations. Likewise, a greater depth could have been reached by conducting fieldwork in only one or two particular geographic regions. Nevertheless, this study has aimed at helping understand generally how Franciscans in Sri Lanka have drawn on their experiences of faith, community life and Franciscan identity in responding to the needs of the world around them.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2. 1 Introduction

Within Franciscan studies the major bibliographic source is *Bibliographia Franciscana,* published as an annual supplement to *Collectanea Franciscana* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini).[4] The volumes of this from 1938 onwards contain only a handful of references to peace and it is only from the later 1960s that a steady stream of articles begins to appear. Chapter 4 examines a selection of these and the retrieval of the "Franciscan peace tradition."

It seems that peace studies and Franciscanism are two worlds with few points of intersection. Searches within peace studies literature find only a few scattered references to Franciscans, although in Franciscan studies there is a larger body of literature relating to Francis and his peaceful values and actions, or to contemporary Franciscan peacefulness or to peace as part of "Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation" (JPIC), but little to Franciscan peacemakers.

The research question asks about the factors motivating decisions for engagement in forms of active peacemaking by Franciscans living in Sri Lanka. The literature related to this falls into three broad areas of which the first two are considered in the two main sections of this chapter and the third in Chapter 4.

1. **Religion and peacemaking**. This includes the forms in which religious actors engage in peacemaking, and the resources they bring to that, the ways in which religious groups with a peace tradition have discerned how to act on that tradition in the contemporary world and the processes by which some faith-based humanitarian groups have shifted their focus to

4. References to peace, peacemaking and dialogue can be found in various places in this bibliography including the sections: II. *S. Franciscus Assisiensis*. D. *Studia Biographica*. 2. *Singuli eventus chronologici* [St Francis of Assisi. Biographical studies. Single chronological events]; II. *S. Franciscus Assisiensis*. E. *Spiritualitas. Virtutes et dona* [St Francis of Assisi. Spirituality. Virtues and gifts]; II. *S. Franciscus Assisiensis*. F. *Actio Apostolica—Influxus—Hodie* [St Francis of Assisi. Apostolic works—Influence—Today]; III. *Studia et Doctrinae*. F. *Apostolatus*. 3. *Actio apostolico-socialis* [Study and doctrine. Apostolate. Apostolic and social works] III. *Studia et Doctrinae*. F. *Apostolatus*. 4. *Oecumenismus—dialogus—oecologia* [Study and doctrine. Apostolate. Ecumenism—dialogue—ecology].

peacebuilding. The particular purpose here is to situate religious peacemaking within its broader context and look at the potential forms it can take as engaged peacemaking.

2. **Christian monastic religious communities**, specifically within the Catholic Church, and the factors associated with decisions to be active in peacemaking or other areas of socio-political concern. This is essentially exploring such communities' motivations for active engagement.
3. The **Franciscan peace tradition**. Franciscan texts have been interpreted in various ways to construct varied understandings of the Franciscan peace tradition. This is considered below in Chapter 4, not to review the literature as such, but rather to explore how these varied understandings give a "Franciscan peace resource" able to be brought to active peacemaking.

2. 2 Religion and Peace

Although scholarly and practical attention is increasingly being given to the connections between religion and peace, and particularly the role of religious actors in peacebuilding, there is no substantial body of research about the *motives* driving religious peacemakers in engagement for peace, and although there are a number of concepts addressed there is little theory yet in this emerging field. In this section an overview of the theoretical dimensions of religion, conflict, peace and peacemaking is followed by a review of the literature addressing religious peacemaking through the perspectives of its resources and challenges, the roles of religious peacemakers, and the processes by which historic peace churches have moved from pietistic separation from "the world" to active engagement in a number of the world's conflicts. The section concludes with an overview of Catholic peacemaking, particularly as it has taken shape in the years after the Second Vatican Council.

2. 2. 1 Theoretical Approaches to the Religious Dimensions of Peace, Conflict and Peacemaking

Most world religions embody both warrior and pacifist traditions. They are able to inspire either violent conflict or active peacemaking (e.g. Appleby 2000, 2003, Ter

Haar and Busuttil 2005, Thomas 2005, Kollontai 2008, McClymond and Freedman 2008, Cavanaugh 2009, Funk and Woolner 2011). The responses of Franciscans in the Bosnian conflict, as noted below in Chapter 4, illustrate this ambivalence well as does Hertog's (2010) case study of the Russian Orthodox Church in which she identifies its attitudes, behaviours, worldviews, and peace understandings as contributing factors which can function either as potential peace resources or obstacles. (For example, attention for the spiritual-moral state of society is a potential resource, but becomes an obstacle if it is seen solely as providing sacraments and religious education).

The literature indicates a wider role for religion than simply as a force for good or bad, since peace itself is increasingly recognised as having a religious or spiritual component. As Galtung (1969) observed, peace is more than the absence of war; a recognition built on by Groff (2008) in recognising the inner and outer dimensions of peace. Faith-based actors are specifically recognised as having a role in peacemaking, either as neutral outsiders or insider partial actors, as many case studies show (e.g. Johnston and Sampson 1994).

Some recent studies have suggested theories to explain how religion can overcome its ambivalence, and become a positive contribution to peacemaking and part of a lasting solution to religious conflict. One approach builds on the mythic-cultural elements of religion. Gopin (2002), for example, argues this in relation to the conflict in the Middle East); others focus on the theological understanding and praxis of peace held by a religion (Bartoli 2004, Van Butselaar 2005). Another approach builds on sociological understandings of religion and looks at how religion engages (or not) with society (Harpviken and Røislien 2005, Kollontai 2008), or how religious groups locate themselves, as *religious* groups, in the intellectual, institutional, market and political strategic spaces of civil society (Brewer, Higgins, and Teeney 2010).

The notion of religious authenticity is taken up by other scholars. An examination of the causes of the Balkans conflict concludes, "The best way to counter religious extremism or manipulation of religion is with strengthened, more authentic religion, not weakened religion" (Powers 1996, 252). This could be generalised to all conflicts which include a religious element, but religious actors, despite a desire to be active peacemakers, are often hindered by a variety of factors. These include: being unprepared to take on peacemaking roles, being blocked by potential obstacles such as religious nationalism,

the use of revenge motifs in sacred texts, the presence of ethnoreligious extremists, etc. (Little and Appleby 2004), and not understanding or enacting their potential peacebuilding role or "the insufficient exploitation of their strategic capacity as transnational actors" (Appleby 2008a, 128-129, see also Haynes 2012).

Other factors which can strengthen or weaken religious peacemaking include relationships of religious leaders (at local or national level) with government or other religious leaders or believers as well as the existence of any religious peace coalitions, local or national religious structures and the frame environment (De Juan and Vüllers 2010), or the presence or lack of a political theology whose themes such as dialogue and reconciliation are based on fundamental claims of faith and directed to the possibility of peace, or where religious actors are independent from any one side in the struggle as Toft, Philpott, and Shah (2011) argue.

The role of religious faith is important in many of the theoretical contributions considered above and will also be considered below in relation to religious communities.[5] Faith can create a religious understanding directed towards either peaceful or violent resolution of conflict by drawing on sacred traditions (such as texts, rituals, "communal stories" and cultural elements) to create a particular religious identity which is either peaceful or violent. Thus, religious elements function as a resource, able to be used to shape understanding and guide responses to violent conflict.

2. 2. 2 Roles of Religious Peacemakers

> Appleby (2001) defines the broad work of peacebuilding as including:
>
> Conflict prevention and management; the transformation of conflict through mediation, the implementation of negotiated settlements, and the longer-term rebuilding of civil society and democratic institutions; and, not least, "second order" efforts, such as the building of human rights regimes and the promulgation of secular and religious laws and ethical traditions conducive to peaceful relations (822).

Within this broad field, religious peacemaking can work in a variety of ways. It is built on high ideals and altruistic values (Morgan 2008) and can tap resources such as imagination and the power of myth in order to inspire, and adopt renunciation, resistance,

5. For a definition of faith and belief see Section 1.3.2 (p. 5).

nonviolence (including altruism, nonretaliation and forms of alternative action), conflict resolution, and reconciliation as its praxis (Gopin 2005, 2008). It might be specifically positioned as faith-based diplomacy (Johnston 2003, Bercovitch and Kadayifci-Orellana 2009) or approach peacebuilding with multiple levels of engagement of actors (Lederach 1977) and with roles related to each stage of the conflict (Bock 2001). The focus of religious peacemakers might be towards the transformation and restructuring of relationships so that truth, mercy, justice and peace are brought together (Lederach 2001), rather than focusing on cease-fires or negotiations. In Lederach's phrase, such peacemaking is driven by a *moral imagination*. Brewer (2010), reflecting on Lederach, states that "peace processes require soul as well as art, and the steps that peacemakers are enjoined to take can only really be understood in terms of the moral values that encourage and motivate activists" (2). These values Lederach describes as including the enemy as part of a web of relationships, embracing complexity, believing in the power of creativity and accepting the risk of stepping into the unknown (Lederach 2005).

Sampson (1997) analysed case studies and classified religious peacemakers into four roles of advocates, intermediaries, observers, and educators, to which Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana, and Abu-Nimer (2005) have added transitional justice along with intra- and inter-faith dialogue. Religious peacemakers can bring particular qualities not necessarily present in secular actors and work in ways their secular counterparts do not, such as including specifically religious elements like interfaith activities; ritual and ceremony; prayer, meditation and silence (Daffern 2008) and more specifically as religious Track-2 peace brokers act as "liaison," "coordinator," or "representative" (Harpviken and Røislien 2005, 2008).

Scholarly research into roles of religious peacemakers began initially with the high-profile roles perhaps more likely to have attracted attention, but has now encompassed a wider range of actors, at all levels, as well as a deepening understanding of how these roles work.

2. 2. 3 Historic Peace Churches

Franciscans can usefully be compared with what are known as the historic peace churches (Mennonites, Quakers and Church of the Brethren). These churches originated in 16th to early 18th century Europe as forms of protest and radical separation from both

the Catholic and Protestant churches and the civil structures with which those churches were entwined. Like the Franciscans in the early 13th century they also began with similar principled pacifism, but unlike the Franciscans this took a different trajectory and came to serve as a marker of their distinct identity of separation from the world. However, members of these peace churches, feeling that the wars of the 20th century required a more active response than their traditional separatism, led their churches into programmes for more active work for peace and reconciliation.

Mennonites moved from a conservative "two-kingdom" position on church and state[6] and an emphasis on non-resistance and withdrawal from the world to an active nonviolent resistance and positive engagement with the world. They were led to this by theological reflection (John Howard Yoder was one of the key influences), self-criticism and social analysis, in response to the violence of the two World Wars and the emergence of radical social movements in the 1960s. Their active peacemaking includes long-term commitment and relationship building. They have also developed Christian Peacemaker Teams, trained to be deployed in areas of global conflict (Gopin 2000, Miller 2000, Goossen 2005, Satterwhite 2006, Koontz 2007, International Dialogue between the Catholic Church and Mennonite World Conference [2003?]).

Likewise, the Church of the Brethren was traditionally opposed to fighting, since they saw Jesus as nonviolent. "Yet while they were certain that 'nonresistance' characterized Christ's Kingdom, they were equally convinced that nominal Christians and non-Christians would always be embroiled in armed conflict, for that was the way of the World" (Bowman 1995, 349). However, their missionary endeavours led to what had been a small sectarian group transforming itself by World War I into a mainline Protestant denomination with a very different outlook on the world. "Traditional nonresistance had required Brethren to wash the dirt of the world's streets from their feet. Yet now that they were spending more time in those streets, they worried less about washing and more about clean streets" (350). This led to a distinctive Brethren peace position and the active promotion of world peace.

6. The belief that God rules the *kingdom of the world* through secular government and law, and the *spiritual kingdom* through gospel and grace.

Quakers, also, have held a principled objection to war and actively participated in alternative forms of service. They have developed a bottom-up process by which concerns about political or social needs are raised by individual members, tested by seeking consensus, and if consensus obtained, leading to programmes in response to these needs (Yarrow 1978, Barbour and Frost 1988). Quaker peacemaking is based on the principles of acknowledging God in all, including prayer or meditation, seeking acceptance by those among whom they work, and persistence (Curle 2007). On this basis, Quakers have taken particular approaches to conciliation including, "opening lines of communication; reducing suspicions, misperceptions and fears, and advocating for a negotiated settlement while supporting official mediation efforts" (Sampson 1994, 94).

These historic peace churches have responded to social and international change by developing forms of active peacemaking. The literature surveyed is generally broadly historical but points to ways in which individuals, inspired in some way, have worked to help their churches reframe their historic commitment to principled peace and to offer trained peacemakers to situations of global conflict. The Franciscan movement in its initial period had points in common with the historic peace churches such as pacifism, simplicity and a refusal to enter into alliances with those in power. Their commitment to these values weakened as they found themselves used in service of the church; but more recently the JPIC movement has tried to radicalise Franciscans into reclaiming some of their earlier critical edge. Although the historic peace churches found ways to reframe their foundational pacifism as active peacemaking, thereby bringing about a shift from non-engaged separatism to engagement in world conflict, the Franciscan approach has attempted to position JPIC as a contemporary and normative expression of the values of Francis of Assisi.

2. 2. 4 Catholic Peacemaking

With the exception of a few Anglican, ecumenical and other communities, almost all Franciscans belong to the various Franciscan orders and congregations in the Catholic Church, hence their context is the wider one of Catholic peacemaking.

The Catholic Church has a mixed record as peacemaker. It is staffed by people of high ideals, but as an institution has been involved in *realpolitik* for centuries. Its Franciscans are a microcosm of this. Nevertheless, it has been an active peacemaker in various

ways. Its resources include easily mobilised international links, a disciplined structure and a distinctive ideology of which social justice is an important part. This provides a potentially strong base for effective peacemaking (Rubin 1994, Powers 2007) and it has taken courageous stands by refusing to give the ecclesial legitimation sought by some oppressive regimes (Johnston and Figa 1988). However, although it has moral authority, the church is not a monolithic organisation. It is stratified hierarchically and the split between lower and higher levels may be significant, as can the difference between religious community members and diocesan clergy and parish members. Its commitment to peace and justice is not always universally apparent.

Although the Catholic Church is not an historic peace church, its post-Vatican II efforts to support human rights and justice and the recognition that these are key ingredients of peace has helped it find common ground with those it had formerly excommunicated. This new awareness is reflected in the title of the International Catholic-Mennonite Dialogue's report, "Called Together to be Peacemakers" (Christiansen 2010, International Dialogue between the Catholic Church and Mennonite World Conference [2003?]).

In the Catholic Church, although major initiatives for change might often have proceeded from the top down, it is perhaps at regional levels such as bishops' conferences (e.g. Nigeria as Okure (2009) shows) that the church has taken an active role in working for peace or human rights. Some Catholic organisations have made conscious decisions to reframe their mission from humanitarian aid to work for peace. Among these is the Community of Sant'Egidio which began as a Catholic lay organisation involved in humanitarian work and which then used its commitment to friendship with others and its existing networks to help facilitate a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Mozambique. Since then it has continued working as a peacemaker (Bartoli 1999, Appleby 2008a, Haynes 2009). Catholic Relief Services transformed itself after the 1994 Rwandan massacre from a humanitarian relief organisation to one with a focus on peacebuilding based on Christian principles founded on a biblical and theological understanding of shalom (Appleby 2004). Their approach to faith-based peacebuilding includes grief and trauma healing, hospitality, confession, apology, justice, and forgiveness. "Faith-based peacebuilding within the Abrahamic traditions must be firmly rooted in shalom (salaam, peace),

affirming both justice and reconciliation and avoiding both mere pacification and a crusade mentality" (Steele 2008, 34). Caritas International has made a similar shift in focus to include peacemaking (Caritas Internationalis 2006). These mandate changes, although often initially viewed positively (as in the cases cited above), have been critically evaluated more recently; an NGO which has turned from humanitarian relief to peacebuilding risks having its neutrality compromised or experiencing increased complications in its relationships with donors and governments, and might lack the necessary skills for peacebuilding. Much depends on the NGO's motivation for change. Gerstbauer (2010) found that three faith-based NGOs who changed to a peacebuilding orientation[7] had done so not just because of external pressure, but because they used their leaders to help them reflect on their faith-based mission of alleviating suffering, and came to realise that these missions could be achieved more effectively through addressing the causes of conflict.

Franciscans as a family of religious orders and congregations differ in a number of ways from these organisations. They are not a single united NGO, defined by a particular task, and staffed by career employees or volunteers. They are bodies of friars and sisters who have embarked on a particular way of life in which an active peace orientation is only one aspect.

2. 3 Christian Monastic Religious Communities

This section is concerned mainly with the forms of religious community life found in the Catholic Church, popularly known as "monastic." After an overview of the definitions and historical development of religious communities there will be a consideration of the effects of the substantial revolution which Vatican II brought to them and the general characteristics of religious communities as they have become. Some of the attempts to study religious communities as agents of social and political change will be evaluated to uncover the factors potentially motivating Franciscan communities to be active peacemakers.

7. World Vision, Catholic Relief Services and the Mennonite Central Committee.

2. 3. 1 Introduction, Definitions and Historical Development of Religious Communities

The forms of religious community studied here are generally of the coenobitic (i.e. living in community), celibate, single-sex type popularly identified as monastic[8] and almost exclusively situated within the Catholic Church.[9] In much church literature these forms of community are generically referred to as "Religious life," and their members as "Religious" (both as adjective and noun)[10] but for avoiding ambiguity will be referred to here as "religious community life" and "members of religious orders or congregations."

A fundamental dynamic in religious community life is that each historical expression of it usually began as response or protest to the prevailing secular or ecclesiastical environment. Unlike the radical protest movements within Protestantism which often split away as sects (as for example described by O'Dea 1966, 67-68, Yinger 1970, 260, Hill 1973b, 89-90, Dawson 2009) Catholic religious orders have usually remained part of the church, a "cognitive minority" (Turcotte 2001), making their protest as a kind of small "church" within and loyal to the larger body (an *ecclesiola in ecclesia)* (Wach 1947, 175-176, Hill 1973b, 76-77).

Historically, the first forms of religious community life in Western Christianity were monastic communities (following the Benedictine Rule). These were followed by the mendicant orders (such as Franciscans and Dominicans) which were founded in the late middle ages, and then in the 16th century the apostolic or missionary orders (e.g. the Jesuits), through to the pastorally oriented religious congregations of the 19th century. Each of these movements was both response and challenge to prevailing social and ecclesial conditions. Benedictine life began with small groups of predominantly laymen and

8. "Monastic" refers to the life normally lived within the cloister of a monastery, under a vow of stability to that particular monastery. Although "monastic" is popularly used for other communities, it is a misnomer for mendicant communities such as Franciscan or Dominican friars, or for the apostolic forms of life which were established to perform particular ministries, often in education and pastoral care.
9. Religious communities were suppressed in England in the mid-16th century, but from the mid-19th century, fired substantially by a sense of mission to live and work among the urban poor, and as part of the Anglo-Catholic revival, religious communities were refounded in the Anglican Church. Anglican Franciscanism originated in the 1890s. Since World War II there have been new patterns of ecumenical community life, and also the development of religious community life in some Protestant churches.
10. E.g. in phrases such as "I became a Religious ten years ago," or "The Religious sisters of the diocese."

women[11] living under rule and forming communities isolated from the world in what O'Dea called a "*protest* against both the development of an institutionalized ecclesiastical body which involved internal routinization, and accommodation to the world, and an *acting out* of an attempt to live according to the teachings of the gospels under the new conditions of the times" (O'Dea 1966, 52-53, emphasis in original, see also Hill 1973a, ch. 3). These words could also be applied to any of the communities founded subsequently; they were both responses and challenges to church and society. Wittberg (1994) uses frame alignment analysis drawn from social movement theory to explain how religious communities were founded to construct an ideology of virtuoso spirituality, creating communities which in their early phase of development provided a way for aspiring religious virtuosi to join movements of "loyal protest" (Hill 1973a). The founders of religious communities were usually charismatic leaders, but inevitably the communities they founded became routinised and successful stable institutions built on the hard work of their members in which the "original vision of a radical discipleship was lost or compromised to conform to a lifestyle which had emerged or to support a work undertaken" (Rausch 1990, 13). Communities thus become legitimated by rational or traditional authority (e.g. Hill 1973b, ch 7, see also Gannon 1979b, 19-25 for an historical perspective on Catholic orders).

The mendicant orders founded in the late Middle Ages, such as the Franciscans (regarded by Troeltsch as a "sect-type of lay religion") and the Dominicans, exhibit this pattern. They were a form of social and economic protest and a response to the changing needs of mission to the burgeoning middle classes (Troeltsch 1950, 355, see also Hill 1973b, ch 3). The way of life Francis of Assisi founded was deliberately and carefully loyal to the church, yet contained protest in that the religious virtuosi who joined did not live as cloistered monks. Like the other mendicants, the Franciscan life was lived in the world, but not by worldly values. As with other movements of religious virtuosity Francis' founding charism became routinised in succeeding generations (Hill 1973b, ch 8) as the movement became professionalised and symbols of the life such as Rule and vows were objectified and routinised, change-resistant bureaucratic structures arose, the founder's charism was defined and concretised in a way which lost its original force and subtlety,

11. "Lay" in this technical sense means "not ordained" to the regulated forms of ministry in the church such as the priesthood.

and individual vocation was replaced by social consensus or alignment with secular values used as a form of control (O'Dea 1966, 90-97, 1970, ch 13, Flood 1985, Desbonnets 1988, Flood 1989, Carmody 2008). In this way the Franciscan charism became institutionalised and substantially defined by cloister rather than as an alternative way of living in the world.

2. 3. 2 The Second Vatican Council and Religious Communities

The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965, referred to below as Vatican II), was responsible for substantial changes not only to the appearances of religious community life (such as the wearing of habits), but more fundamentally to the pre-Vatican II theology which had regarded religious community life as a "state of perfection" inaccessible to laity (Hoge 2008).[12] The Council called for renewal of religious communities based on a "constant return to the sources of the whole of the Christian life and to the primitive [i.e. of the founder and the first members] inspiration of the institutes, and their adaption to the changed conditions of our time" (Second Vatican Council, *Perfectae Caritatis* (Decree on the Up-to-Date Renewal of Religious Life): 2).[13] This realignment called for religious communities to understand the twin sources of (a) the founder, the early members of the congregation and the life they devised, and (b) the "signs of the times"; and then to discern and to embrace a new way of life derived from both sources (Sammon 2001). This process of renewal led many communities to adopt a mission-oriented priority (Brennan 1984) with social justice and peace as core agendas (Neal 1984b), and for many women members, especially in western countries, the experience of being influenced by a theological and spiritual feminism (Weaver 1985).

The shift from pre- to post-Conciliar attitudes was a considerable change from the old paradigm (a sinful world, religious vocation as a separation from the world, etc.) to a new paradigm in which religious community life would be prophetically devoted to justice and non-violence (e.g. Neal 1987, ch 2, O'Murchu 2006). This reality is complex

12. Of the Council decrees, *Gaudium et Spes* (Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World) and *Lumen Gentium* (Dogmatic Constitution on the Church) perhaps had a more fundamental effect on religious community life than *Perfectae Caritatis* (Decree on the Up-to-Date Renewal of Religious Life).
13. References to Vatican II documents are to the Latin title of the document, its English subtitle, and paragraph number (Vatican Council 1988b).

and such terms as “traditional” or “progressive” are not simple variables. For example, as Finke (1997) and Wittberg (1996a) observe, a community may have a “traditional” understanding of religious poverty, or of wearing a form of distinct dress or common ownership but be “progressive” in some other way such as having mixed sex membership or a radical form of ministry.

2. 3. 3 General Characteristics of Religious Communities Today

Although members of religious orders might be employed as clergy and have some of the characteristics of that professional class (Fichter 1961, Hoge 2009) the fundamental difference between diocesan clergy and religious community members is that the latter are shaped by the dynamics of community living in some form or other. They are not a uniform whole but are segmented by order (Gannon 1979a, b, 42-48), reflecting differences between men’s and women’s communities, as well as each order’s ethos and decisions it has made about life and ministry. Religious communities exist within and are validated by a church, and have traditionally had some degree of separation from the world. Thus they provide an ordered way for the practice of religious virtuosity. These factors in combination distinguish them from other religious movements or forms of communitarian life (Gannon 1979b, 25-29, 1980, 169-173). Those who have joined have voluntarily accepted common disciplines such as living in celibacy in single sex communities and joint ownership/use of property. Traditionally, status rewards have provided compensation for the sacrifices called for by the life although the reforms of communities have removed many of these rewards (Ebaugh 1977, Finke 1997, Stark and Finke 2000).

In addition to the traditional forms described above there can now be found new developments such as communities with a mixture of men and women, ecumenical communities, forms of associate membership (including married couples) and those who do not intend to make vows (Schneiders 1986, 19-20). Expressions of Franciscan life can be found among these new developments—for example a friar living in community with lay people (Rohr 1984)—as well as in the traditional forms.

Sociological attempts to class types of religious communities as “total institutions” (Goffman 1962) or “greedy institutions” (Coser 1974) have been refuted (Hill 1973a, 74). The alternative frame is as places of freedom, love and prayer (Hillery 1969, 1984, 1992) and despite the outward appearances of religious community life, the deep

values which sustain the life are seen as spiritual rather than instrumental. They can contribute to the life of the church by developing "innovations for adapting the faith to a specific culture or era, and provid[ing] institutional support for a high tension version of the faith" (Finke and Wittberg 2000, 157), as long as they maintain their core religious teachings and are not blocked by controls or efforts to conform to wider norms (Finke 2004).

Recent scholarly literature concerning religious community life falls into several broad groups of inquiry: (a) communities as they were pre-Vatican II, and the changes made in response to that and changing social needs, such as a study of the radicalisation of US nuns as part of the 1960s movement for racial equality (Koehlinger 2007); (b) psycho-social studies of members of communities and their ministries (e.g. Kreis and Bardwell 2011, Kreis 2012); (c) those who left communities and the changing patterns of vocation;[14] (d) refounding or reforming religious community life and its future shape. The literature in English is mostly from the USA and predominantly concerns the Western context. The few examples from elsewhere point to different contextual factors, for example the challenges of religious community life in Brazil now that liberation theology is no longer as active (Valle 2001); or how insufficient spiritual leadership leads to difficulties of adopting an option for the poor in India (Vallipalam 2001).

The literature which is relevant touches on areas such the processes by which religious communities make decisions, especially in response to their social and ecclesiastical context, or explores the basic elements common to all forms of community life such as relationships, attitudes, organisation and context. These will be outlined below and further developed in the following chapter on theory. Franciscans are a subset of religious communities, but there is little scholarly literature directly addressing them specifically as communities.

14. An example from the US: "In the early 1960s, approximately 7,000 young women per year entered religious communities in this country, and these new entrants accounted for about 17 percent of all American nuns. By 1981, however, only 4 percent of the nuns were recent recruits and, in 1990, less than 1 percent were" (Wittberg 1994, 1-2). The trend has accelerated over recent years. There is a similar trend in Europe and North America, but on the other hand, as Wittberg notes, there has been substantial growth in religious communities in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.

2. 3. 4 Active Orientation to Socio-political Issues by Religious Communities

To try to establish a causal relationship between particular factors and an active orientation to social or political issues would require establishing a causal mechanism able to be verified longitudinally. The studies here do not generally attempt that, but rather study particular factors potentially associated with an active orientation to socio-political issues. They are arranged in two broad groups: (1) faith and related attitudes, (2) community life.

2. 3. 4. 1 Faith and Related Attitudes

Various studies have explored the relationships between faith, attitudes and religious practice. Stark and Glock's seminal work was a survey of the nature, sources and consequences of religious belief among laity in the US and attempted to measure religious commitment to the five "core dimensions of religiousness" they conceptualised as: (1) belief, (2) practice, (3) experience, (4) knowledge and (5) consequences (Stark and Glock 1968, 14-16). Their approach, particularly the "Orthodoxy Index" has been criticised as limited to a particular traditional expression of Christian faith, but in its defence they stated that they were concerned primarily with laity who either accept traditionally expressed views or define their faith in terms of distance from such orthodoxy (22-23). Neal critiqued this measure for being not so much about religious belief but as about a "sense of security about divine intervention" and claimed further that Stark and Glock's measure of religious belief "precludes the possibility of exploring the relationship between religious commitment and social action in terms of risk and involvement in social change, except when such commitment is defined as secular instead of sacred" (Neal 1970, 10, see also Gannon 1972, 219). They were further critiqued by Yinger and then Welch and Leege for "measures of religiosity [which] had less to do with fundamental religious worldviews and more to do with 'superficial' doctrinal codes (Yinger 1969, Welch and Leege 1988, 537). Although this measure works pragmatically it "would probably be grossly unsuited for studying the religious perspective of theologians and religious intellectuals" (Stark and Foster 1970, 388).

Despite such reservations their pioneering work provided a basis for many studies, including a survey of US clergy which found positive correlations between theological liberalism and political liberalism and conversely between theological conservatism and political conservatism (Balswick 1970); and a similar study with similar results for a US semi-rural population (Stellway 1973). It was also used by Lupfer and Wald (1985) for a survey correlating religious belief and practice against a multi-dimensional human nature scale. In their view the six recurrent types of reality structure identified by Glock and Piazza (1981) provide a useful model for understanding people's assumptions about "how the world works," in particular the "supernatural" structure favoured by many religious people. They also felt that models such as Balswick's (1970) single dimensional measure were oversimplified. A further use of Glock and Stark's Orthodoxy Index was as part of a study into the pacifism and political leanings of Mennonites to examine how Mennonite pacifism could be related to a range of Mennonite theological attitudes (Kauffman 1989).

Sister Marie Augusta Neal, taking a different approach from Glock and Stark, is perhaps the most significant scholar to have studied the readiness of religious communities for social change. Her published research began with a study of the attitudes to change in Catholic clergy in Boston (Neal 1965) and covered many years and several major studies of US religious sisters, particularly of their readiness for the post-Vatican II renewal of religious community life. The value of her work is that it is of Catholic religious *communities*, rather than individuals, and because Neal, as a religious sister herself, brings an insider appreciation for the dynamics of life within community. A major longitudinal study of US sisters began in 1965 to test hypotheses about the relationship between beliefs, attitudes, and readiness for change. Its conclusion was that although personal "advantage and security" in an established system is important, it does not explain all the variance in "initiating or resisting change," and that "*religious belief* is a significant factor in establishing the definition of the situation which constitutes for believers the framework from which one makes the choices that result in changed social structures." In her work, belief is not only a solitary value, but exercised in community with others, "shared religious beliefs guide major choices about life and work by defining them in a context of good or evil" (Neal 1970, 7, emphasis in original). This and subsequent research also included

congregational (i.e. religious order) surveys, identifying the macro-level factors related to congregational change.

As noted above, Neal found Glock and Stark's definition of "religiosity" too narrow and took a much more fundamental definition of religious belief as the "complex of qualities related to specific cognitive sets associated by the actor with his conceptions of a creed, a code, and a cult that express for him his understanding of, and feelings about, what has ultimate meaning, couched in terms that are used by groups of people who, within a range, share similar understandings" (9). As part of the study of the relationship between belief and desire for change she identified a significant correlation between preference for change and preference for the work of the then-newer theologians who wrote more of "new theologies of hope, the future and revolution, which provided material for meditation and contemplation needed to motivate action toward change." Neal's claim was that the "choices to accept or resist new directions for social action and social structure" were energised by the religious beliefs from which this polarisation springs (11). Religion can indeed be an "opium," deadening people's awareness so that they prefer to maintain social injustices, but "on the other hand, a religion becomes an obstetrician of social change when the advantaged, holding it while others are oppressed, suffer a sense of guilt and are moved to act as the conscience of society and decathect the dehumanizing institutions" (12).

Other findings of this study were that there were distinct indicators of pre- and post-Vatican II belief orientation. Those of pre-Vatican II orientation saw themselves as a "spiritual elite" striving for a state of perfection and who experienced God as remote. For them, religious experience called them out of the world into set-aside sacred places, away from involvement in social issues unless for limited works of mercy. Conversely those of a post-Vatican II orientation saw God as immanent and acting in history through people. They would protest what they saw as evil and strive to help build structures organized in justice (Neal 1971a, 154). This difference is "rooted in basically contrasting understandings of human nature" (Neal 1975, 71).

A significant indicator of this orientation was found to be choice of theological reading. As Neal observes, this was of particular relevance for research into communities. "Reading preferences are part of the socialization process within which and through which religious beliefs are initiated and shaped in religious orders" (156-157). It took the

influence of these then-new theologians to help members of religious communities "break through the security of routine practices and apply critical judgment to the claims of inadequacy of Christian response to the current needs of man in poverty, war, and ethnic stratification" (Neal 1971b, 9).

Analysis of the results found religious *belief* to be a major factor in determining receptiveness to change from traditional works (principally health care, education and other work for the needy) to new works, including what were seen then as radical ones which "would call for changes that would affect political, social, and economic structures, as well as the life chances of individual people being oppressed." Demographic factors were much less significant in explaining readiness for change. (Neal 1971a, 159-160).

The much greater readiness for these radically new works by those with a high post-Vatican II orientation, led to the conclusion that:

> While *age* is determining in choices of works, *belief* is consistently reinforcing more choice of radically new works and less rejection of traditional ones, having a different pattern from what age is doing.
>
> …One can conclude from these beginnings of systematic analysis that belief gives impetus to choice of new directions no matter where a person lives and works, but members living and working with others who *share* the *same* beliefs are far more reinforced to assent to those behaviors that are affirmed or suggested by the belief most commonly shared by the members (164, emphasis in original).

Subsequent study of the adoption of change found a number of related factors such as the pressure of declining entrance rates and increasing internal dissatisfaction and defection; geographic nearness to those in wider society; leadership's risk-orientation and openness to change; and the nature of new entrants (Neal 1971b).

The considerable changes between the 1960s and 80s were revealed through the longitudinal survey which showed that by 1982 the main factors for congregational leaders which would determine changes in their congregation had shifted from the decrees of Vatican II (84 percent), and the directives of the Sacred Congregation[15] (62 percent) in

15. The *Sacred Congregation of Religious and Secular Institutes* is the Vatican body with jurisdiction over religious Orders.

1966 to the needs of the human community (78 percent), and the ideas of the sisters (68 percent) (Neal 1984a, 66), cited in Wallace (1988, 29).[16]

This clearly is a significant change and points to a much greater orientation to the world "outside" the community. Although "the entire point of monasticism is precisely not to be entirely 'at home' in the world" (Keenan 2002, 18), this is *not* so for the mendicant and apostolic orders which were founded to be present *in* the world, although not *of* the world.

Other findings were that renewed forms of religious community life were "linked to the salvation theology of a post-Vatican Council church" (Neal 1990, 59-60). However, although communities were substantially oriented to social justice and transformation in outward relationships, their efforts to establish cooperative forms of governance among themselves were often hindered by "traditional structures of a patriarchy, a system which seeks to use the traditional family model of relationships—parent to child" (Neal 1990, 37).

Neal's work shows subtlety and a deeper probing into religious motivations. It covered the years from Vatican II, through the gradual implementation of the Council, and the maturing of new forms of religious community life, to the rapid reduction and aging of membership in communities in many western countries. Can it still be considered relevant for today? Although there remains today a tiny fringe seeking to live religious community life totally by pre-Vatican II practices and theologies, and there are others who although perhaps also labelled as "traditionalist" have a blend of new and old practices,[17] the majority embraced more change in all aspects of their lives. The congregations today have been shaped by the values and forces which Neal studied, and these values seem to be still present today, and to shape the responses of religious communities to the issues in the world around them.

A significant concern is that her work was conducted among sisters in the United States. Can it be considered valid in other cultures? There do not seem to have been equivalent studies of that depth conducted elsewhere. Some points suggest that this work

16. There would be nothing to suggest that Franciscans generally would be different from this finding. They have been part of the same renewal processes post-Vatican II and, like other congregations, tend more to live in local smaller communities where they can be more aware of local needs, rather than in large institutions.
17. Wittberg (1996b) studied the difficulties these communities often have in being authenticated by the church.

can be applied more widely. Many of the larger religious congregations are present in a number of different countries and often have centralised structures of leadership and common programmes for formation (training). Sisters may spend time in different countries to ensure a common experience of the congregation's charism. Although there may be differences in emphasis it is reasonable to assume that the basic findings of this research can be applied in a wider context.

One of the aspects of faith and attitudes is the understanding of the relationship between religion and world. This relationship has been approached through the lens of H. Richard Niebuhr's model of the Christ/culture relationship and the three forms of Christianity it proposes: (1) conflict between Christ and culture, leading to a *Radical Christianity*, separated from culture, (2) surrender of Christianity to culture—*Cultural Christianity*, inserted in the world, and (3) the transformation of culture by Christianity—a *Transformative Christianity*, seeking to transform the world by religious values (Niebuhr 1956). Dominican Paul Philibert applied this analysis to a study of renewal in US religious congregations, suggesting that the pre-Vatican II church and religious communities were examples of *radical* Christianity, deliberately separated from an evil world. The years after Vatican II saw a significant shift to expressions of *cultural* Christianity, during which many worked intensely for justice. This phase has lost energy and Philibert (and Sammon who draws on him) suggest the future for religious community life is as a form of *transformative* presence in the world, formed by the disciplines of life in community and sharing this with the world (Philibert 1999, Sammon 2001). In Berger's terms the challenge expressed by Philibert and Sammon is to avoid both (1) the *deductive* possibility of neo-orthodoxy and the attempt to restore the past and reassert religious certainty, and (2) the *reductive* possibility of capitulation to the present and modernising tradition, and to draw on (3) the *inductive* possibility built on both tradition and experience (Berger 1979).

2. 3. 4. 2 Living in Community

A religious community is formed of individuals who have to some degree submitted their individuality to a community discipline, hence an important aspect of the community is the relationship between individual and community values. Francis (1950)

made a seminal approach to this by using Tönnies' concept of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to suggest a historical and developmental shift from the communitarian, family focus of Benedictine communities through to the mission-orientated associational style of the Jesuits. Scholars have long regarded this as oversimplification (Hill 1973a, 15-16, see also Gannon 1979a), but the recognition that there are both *community and commonly held* values and *individual* values points to a real dynamic present in community life, for example in decision making, when both are simultaneously in play.

Rather than this dated and broad historical view it is more useful now to look at the changes resulting from Vatican II. A pre-Vatican II community with its mechanical solidarity and uniformity of work might have been characterised by Durkheim's collective conscience (Giddens 1972, Timasheff and Theodorson 1976, 109) but as Gayer (1991) shows, religious communities, in response to the changes of Vatican II, have largely shifted from this collective form of solidarity (being defined by uniform work and life) to the organic solidarity of shared *values*. The literature documenting this is mainly descriptive ethnography of particular communities, or generalisations drawn from statistics or surveys, and shows how these changes have led to new forms of democratic leadership in place of old forms of institutionalised authority (Gunn 2010). Thus the more family-like style of religious communities made it possible for McGarrahan (1991) to examine the interaction of family of origin and religious vocation of individual religious sisters using a "Community Assessment Device" based on an existing device for measuring internal family relationships (Epstein, Baldwin, and Bishop 1983).

Many communities have adopted an associational model of religious community life. This is based on a common life (more of a family rather than institutional nature) but with individual external work. In the western countries where much of this research has been carried out residence is usually in much smaller and stable groups (Briody and Sullivan 1988, Gayer 1991, Wittberg 1993, Ebaugh, Lorence, and Chafetz 1996). The literature looks at the relationships between style of community and membership patterns, or the freedom felt by individual members. However, as Wittberg suggests, since the members of associational congregations are much more assimilated to their surrounding culture and do not authorise their leadership to challenge members to a counter-cultural stance, they are "less able to provide the counter-cultural witness that had been implied by their founding charism" (Wittberg 1991, 75-76).

At a more fundamental level an individual offers her or his life to a community and in the initial stages of training undergoes *formation*,[18] or socialisation, with the goal of testing and coming to accept the new reality which is being internalised (Berger and Luckmann 1967, Gayer 1991), thus expressing commitment to the community. In a study of 19th century utopian communities Kanter proposed that commitment was formed along three axes of "sacrifice and investment support continuance; renunciation and communion support cohesion; and mortification and surrender support control" and showed that those communities which had effective strategies to ensure such commitment had long-term stability (Kanter 1968). Many of these strategies were forms of boundary separation common to those used by monastic communities such as life within a cloister, separation of sacred and secular, or of expressing common identity such as prayer together, wearing a distinctive form of dress, etc., but a number of these mechanisms of boundary separation are absent from the associational form of community which has become common, particularly in Europe and the US. Without such boundary separation an associational style of community would perhaps need some other means of identity formation to be able to sustain a commitment to some form of engaged socio-political action.

Although a number, especially sisters, found the old institutional model oppressive and the associational model personally liberating (Brock 2010), is it possible for commitment to be maintained now that "de-traditionalising" influences have removed or redefined many of the peripheral forms of individual commitment to community? More particularly, can commitment to socio-political goals be expressed and maintained? Is this commitment now more likely to be that of individual members rather than community? Wittberg (1991, 1993) suggests that associational styles of community cannot easily attract or form new members or sustain commitment to goals of social change, and proposes a form of partial "re-traditionalising" with stronger commitment mechanisms able to help a community make a corporate commitment to a goal of social action.

Dann (1976) approaches the related problem of different forms of church membership, as seen specifically in the pluriformity of post-Vatican II Catholic Church membership, but his analysis can also be applied to religious communities. He simplifies Parsons' (1964) pattern variables to construct a grid of quadrants: (1) the "total institution

18. "Formation" is the technical term for the process by which a new member is trained and inducted into the life of a religious congregation.

mentality of belonging," something like a pre-Vatican community with strong hierarchic authority, and little concern for human relations; (2) the "family belonging" quadrant which has hierarchy, but also emphasises human relations; (3) the "closed community belonging," with emphasis on human relations but low hierarchical values; and (4) the "open network belonging" of an open variety of achievement tendency in which Dann expects people to be united by some common values such as justice or peace. He develops these ideas further (Dann 1978), critically examining attempts to explain change in the Catholic Church as typological, dimensional, evolutionary or political. His claim is that "the dimensions of religiosity can be subsumed by the notion of religious belonging. … In other words, the question of identity, what a Catholic is or should be, includes that of function, what a Catholic does or is supposed to do." This religious belonging is "subject to mutation as an individual's hierarchy of values, belief system and so forth change" (193-194). He builds on Neal's work (1970, 1971a) noting her claim that change for religious communities pre-Vatican II was more interest orientated while post-Vatican II change is more likely to be driven by more universal values such as justice and peace, thus linking belief and values. Dann's own claim is that "an attitude is not simply a predisposition to a set of values but to groups of people sharing these values, that is, belonging has a behavioral as well as an attitudinal component" (Dann 1978, 194-195). Thus he delineates a theoretically based mechanism that explains how attitudes and values relate to different forms of community and shape the response that community might make to universal social or political issues.

Although the shapes of religious community life have changed significantly in the last 60 years the fundamental process has remained the same: an individual joins a community, experiences the relationship between individual and community values and goals and thus comes to find how this tension is expressed and negotiated in each community. In this section the themes which have emerged from the literature include the balance between individual and community interests and values, the development of family-like styles of community living; commitment mechanisms; changing patterns of membership; and how different forms of religiosity shape community relationship with the world.

2. 3. 4. 3 Demographic Factors

A few studies have used demographic factors as predictors of social or religious responses by members of religious communities. These include a study of an order of US sisters by Norr and Schweickert (1976) that found some evidence that age, socio-economic status and employment were predictors of membership and involvement in organisations for social change, and a study by Petersen and Takayama (1983) who took Roof's (1976) local-cosmopolitan theory of religious commitment among Protestant laity, and applied it to a population of Catholic brothers and sisters, finding strong evidence for local-cosmopolitan orientation as a predictor of religiosity. A study of US Southern clergy addressed the relationship between localism and activism (Ammerman 1980) but there does not appear to be any extension of this to those living in religious communities. Demographic factors are easy to operationalise, but they seem focused on the individual, and do not take into account the effects of living in community, nor do they provide a way of studying what motivates the responses each person makes in a particular religious and communal context.

2. 4 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to outline from the relevant literature the elements of peacemaking by religious actors in order to see their particular resources, challenges and roles and how these may be seen in Franciscan communities.

The first section considered the literature on religion and peace, looking at theoretical approaches to religious dimensions of peace, conflict and peacemaking. Although religion has been characterised as an ambivalent force, it can draw on sacred traditions such as texts, rituals, "communal stories" and cultural elements as a resource able to create a peaceful religious identity. The literature indicates a growing awareness of the potential and actual roles of religious actors as peacemakers, at a range of levels. The historic peace churches have been among the religious peacemakers, and a useful point of comparison with Franciscans, since unlike Franciscans, they derived their peacefulness in a radical separation between world and church. Since the 1960s the Catholic Church has taken a more definite stand for peace as part of a renewed emphasis on engagement with the world and its concerns. The Franciscan charism of being "in the world" provides the

particular base from which Franciscans work and where they form relationships. Although the roles of Franciscan peacemakers could be as wide as those of any religious actors, preliminary research suggests that it is low profile ones such as education which are most likely.

The second section in the literature review considered the literature relating to Christian monastic (in the broad sense) religious communities, noting that they were founded as places of "loyal protest," a role which was often lost in the routinisation of their charism. Vatican II brought about revolutionary changes in religious communities, reducing their status as places of separated and privileged access to divine grace, and at the same time opening them to the needs of the world. Franciscans have also attempted in varying ways to rediscover the charism of Francis, of which peacemaking is one part. The literature indicates that the factors associated with active social or political orientation are fundamentally those to do with individual faith or religiosity, mediated by life in community.

Chapter 3 Theory, Research Propositions and Methodology

3. 1 Introduction

The previous chapter identified from the literature some potential and actual aspects of religious involvement in peacemaking as well as the factors influencing Christian religious communities (i.e. those of monks, nuns, friars, sisters, etc.) in making decisions to engage actively with socio-political needs and events. The task now is to apply these ideas, through a particular theoretical perspective, in order to derive some research propositions and a methodology for exploring those propositions.

The Christian religious communities studied here are popularly known as monastic in a general sense of the word, although Franciscans (and other mendicant orders) are technically not monastic since their members do not make a vow of stability to a particular monastery, nor do they confine their life and work to a monastic cloister. However, these communities share some features. They were often founded as a "faith response" to a particular social or ecclesial need and have provided a form of religious virtuosity which challenges prevailing values or practices in church or world. A particular characteristic of this life is that it is usually lived in common with others, and those who join are incorporated into this common life, forming not only a new individual identity, but reforming the common identity. A religious community today is likely to be substantially oriented to the needs of the world, and the form of this orientation will reflect its theological understanding of the world. The actions of a religious community (or order or congregation) are substantially driven by the values and beliefs of its members. The particular perspectives which characterise these communities are: (1) their members are people of *religious faith*, (2) those who join are incorporated into a *community* which encompasses some aspects of daily life, decision making, etc. (3) each has a particular charism or style which derives from its *founder* who read the "signs of the times" and formed a plan in response to the need they saw.

This chapter introduces two theoretical approaches drawn from the study of social movements: frame analysis and resource mobilisation. These theories have already been used to study the founding, growth and decline of religious communities (Wittberg 1994, 1996a), and by extension here are used to offer theoretical insights into the processes by which such communities can become actively engaged in work for peace or

other goals of social change. Two of the perspectives derived from the literature (faith and community) are studied in relation to these two theoretical approaches to construct research propositions.[19]

The chapter concludes by developing the methodologies for exploring these propositions.

3. 2 Social Movement Theory and Religious Communities

Weber (1963) conceptualised total religious dedication and focus as *virtuosity* (Goldman and Pfaff 2014). Religious communities can be thus viewed as collectives of religious virtuosi, i.e. people living a life of religious commitment with a fulltime dedication able to be applied beyond that of people primarily engaged in secular pursuits. The sociologist and religious sister, Patricia Wittberg, explores the process by which religious orders were founded as "concerted attempts by religious virtuosi to construct and promulgate new heroic spiritualties" (Wittberg 1994, 22). She suggested that two related theories, frame alignment and resource mobilisation, could offer insights into the means by which, in response to the needs of the times, religious communities have been founded. Wittberg's purpose is to use these theories to analyse the rise and eventual decline of Catholic religious communities,[20] but she also suggests that the concept of virtuoso spirituality is still present today and the "opportunity thus exists for present-day virtuoso communities, which had previously confined themselves to peripheral populations, to rework their ideological frames and address the 'sharpest anguish' of postmodern Western culture" (268).

The mechanisms these theories concern (ideology and resources) are both necessary and related.

> These factors reinforce each other: ideological frameworks are developed by interacting individuals as they compare and mutually validate those interpretations that advance their own interests. On the other hand, a new ideological formulation, once articulated, is itself a resource that

19. The research propositions derived from the third perspective (i.e. being inspired by the founder) are derived below in Section 4.2.6 (p. 77).
20. The causes she lists for this decline are "resource demobilization," "frame dealignment" and the abandonment of common commitment mechanisms (Wittberg 1994, 257).

> can contribute to the survival and hegemony of a social movement group (57).

Although Wittberg's use of these theories is directed towards explaining the foundation and eventual decline of religious orders, the aim here is to study the means by which Franciscan communities have responded to the "sharpest anguish" of their situation and become actively engaged peacemakers.

3. 2. 1 Frame Alignment

Frame analysis builds on Erving Goffman's work first published in 1974 in which he defined a frame as a "schemata of interpretation" which "allows its user to locate, perceive, identify and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences" (Goffman 1986, 21). Frames are thus a way of interpreting social experience and frame analysis has been applied to many varied fields, but the one of interest here is the study of social movement organisations (SMO).

An important concept within frame analysis is that of frame alignment. This refers to "linkage of individual and SMO interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals, and ideology are congruent and complementary" (Snow et al. 1986, 464). These scholars identify four frame alignment processes. Frame *bridging* refers to "linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem." An example of this is a peace movement which tries to incorporate support from subscribers to left-oriented periodicals (467-468). Frame *amplification* refers to "clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue, problem or set of events" and can take the form of either value amplification or belief amplification. Examples of these would include a speaker for a peace movement appealing to basic values such as democracy and freedom, or to religious belief (468-472). Frame *extension* is the process of an SMO "extend[ing] the boundaries of its primary framework so as to encompass interests or points of view that are incidental to its primary objectives but of considerable salience to potential adherents." An example could be a peace movement extending its goals to social justice in order to include ethnic minorities (472). The final type of frame alignment listed by Snow et al. is frame *transformation*. This, known by Goffman (1986, 43-44) as *keying*, "redefines activities, events, and biographies that are already

meaningful from the standpoint of some primary framework, in terms of another framework, such that they are now seen as something different" (Snow et al. 1986, 474). This transformation, although naturally a feature of religious or similar movements, can also be seen in "movements that seek change by directly altering socio-political structures," such as an unemployed workers' movement which brings a shift in its members' awareness from "self-blaming" to "structural-blaming" (474). Such transformation can happen at a specific or domain level (as in the example above), or as the transformation of a global interpretive frame (such as a peace activist coming to realise that the "perceptual boundaries between war and peace issues and other aspects of the world gradually dissolved until there were no longer any distinctive, mutually exclusive domain" (475).

Wittberg applies this theory to develop an understanding for the mobilisation of religious virtuoso groups and the means by which religious virtuosi can formulate "a common discourse of meaning: a consensus about what is wrong with the present situation, what should be done about it, and who should appropriately undertake the tasks of reform or renewal" (Wittberg 1994, 23). For example in frame bridging, "a current mode of religious virtuosity is simply introduced to a new population whose orientation is already amenable to it," and in frame amplification a forgotten or discarded value or belief is identified, idealised and elevated (24). Frame extension redefines more fundamentally the values or roles of a form of religious virtuosity resulting in changes of lifestyle or ministry. Frame transformation is the widest ranging of these and leads to a total transformation in world view. Snow et al. observe that frame transformation is characteristic of a movement demanding a high level of commitment; this commitment, Wittberg suggests, is a feature of the "communal religious virtuoso movements" she has been discussing (24).

Snow et al. (1986) propose that the success or failure of a social movement is partly determined by "variation in the degree of frame resonance, such that the higher the degree of frame resonance, the greater the probability that the framing effort will be relatively successful, all else being equal" (477). Wittberg (1994) applies this to religious communities and suggests that for a religious virtuoso movement to succeed, its interpretative framework needs to "resonate" with the "needs or desires of the population at large" and when circumstances change this "may render the virtuoso spirituality advanced by a

former ideological framework less attractive or less feasible and may also create new strains and questions the established ideology does not address" (25).

In response to the call of Vatican II for "renewal" all Catholic religious congregations embarked on a process of renewal based on a "constant return to the sources of the whole of the Christian life and to the primitive [i.e. of the founder and the first members] inspiration of the institutes, and their adaption to the changed conditions of our time" (Second Vatican Council, *Perfectae Caritatis* (Decree on the Up-to-Date Renewal of Religious Life): 2).[21] This called for looking in two directions at once: (a) to the sources (particularly to that of the founder), and (b) to the signs of the times, and as noted above in the literature review, this often resulted in attempts to reorient communities to active engagement with various issues of social justice or peace. This process is often described in terms of reframing; for example, if the original mission of a religious congregation had been education of the poor who had no access to schools, and this mission had, over time, changed to the management of fee-paying schools, then frame transformation could lead to giving up the schools and finding new ways of providing education for the poor without duplicating something more professionally provided by the public education system. Such a radical transformation often was linked with changes in living arrangements, with sisters moving from institutional convents to smaller communities in regular housing.

An example of this reframing is described by Sister Pauline O'Regan of the Sisters of Mercy. Originally founded in Dublin, Ireland in 1831 by Catherine McAuley for work amongst the poor and destitute, they began work in New Zealand in 1850 with the same aim; this work later evolved into an extensive network of schools, hospitals, and aged care facilities, but as O'Regan observes, "if we were to be faithful to her [Mother McAuley's] spirit, it seemed obvious that we would have to direct our thinking towards the poor in New Zealand and serve them in some capacity." The sisters' institutional lifestyle sheltered them from any experience of want. "We had no idea what it felt like to be poor" (O'Regan 1986, 97). Many changes in community life style gave greater autonomy to individuals, but also created crises of change. Recognition of the polarisation among the sisters resulted in an external facilitator helping them learn skills for resolving conflict and for growing together in a spirit of reconciliation. A decision in 1971 to phase out their

21. Vatican Council (1988b).

Christchurch schools and transform them into centres for adult education was "conceived in faith and aborted in fear" after opposition from church leaders (101). Although these schools were founded for the children of the poor, by the 1960s they were "catering for a middle economic group who looked up to the schools to preserve the status quo and to prepare their children to move a step higher on the economic and social ladder" (103). The order had already decided to form a community of a small group of nuns living in ordinary housing and O'Regan describes how she and two other sisters, reflecting on the problems young couples faced when compounded with poverty, came to feel a sense of vocation to live amongst them. They sought permission from their congregation's Council, "answering the needs of our times, in the spirit of Vatican II, looking to the Gospel and our Foundress" believing that "Mother McAuley would do this in our time" (105). This permission was granted, and they moved in to a state house in Aranui, Christchurch, but almost immediately were pressured to return to teaching in response to a shortage of teaching sisters. They refused (against the vow of obedience) and it took years of stalemate before a canonical solution was found (106-111). The three sisters who moved to Aranui experienced frame *transformation*. They regarded themselves as following the Vatican II call for renewal, carrying out the fundamental values of their founder, interpreted for the needs of the time in a radically new way. They were totally committed to the project and the new experiences and opportunities it provided transformed their vision of the world. Their interpretative framework resonated with the needs of those around them, they could not return to the "old way," and in fact were prepared to seek release from their vows in order to remain in Aranui. However, the forces of community leadership and church hierarchy could be interpreted as regarding the project more as frame extension (adding something to what the Mercy Sisters did) or amplification (elevating one aspect of the founder's vision), but not fundamentally transforming it.

Another example is the Federation of St Scholastica (a federation of Benedictine sisters mainly in the United States). During the process of renewal, they found they needed to look back not to the "partial tradition of the immediate past but to the entire history of Benedictine monasticism" in order to "discover those essential elements which had been obscured throughout the centuries." Thus they "could attempt to give expression to the Rule in a cultural form that met the needs of its members and more clearly articulated the vision of Benedict to contemporary society" (Chittister et al. 1977, 144). They

recognised, for example, that *metanoia* (conversion) was a core value of their life, but rather than this being accomplished through *fuga munda* (flight from the world) as in the past, the needs of the present day called for "redemptive involvement in the world" as an expression of metanoia for American Benedictines today (147-148). Thus, "contemporary Benedictine women accept political involvement, public advocacy for the disadvantaged, and participation in what in an earlier period would have been called secular activities" (151). One implication of this was the result of the Erie Benedictine sisters' decision, under the leadership of Sister Joan Chittister, to engage prophetically with the world. First was their community decision to engage *together* in an as yet unchosen key issue of the late 20th century, rather than each working separately at something different. The second was the decision that their specific work was to become "a peace community with a corporate commitment to nuclear disarmament," a decision which resulted in "everything" becoming "difficult" as well as "clear" (Chittister 2005, 221). "Every sister in the community, whatever ministry she did privately, took as her personal responsibility the need to use that work somehow to promote world peace and to argue for the denuclearization of the country" (222). The consequences of this decision were significant. "The pressures on us for doing these things approached the unbearable. In the early years, we were almost entirely alone in our positions in the area. We were called communists, traitors, feminazis, crazies. But the sisters went on. Regardless. And together." Chittister asks if she imposed this issue on the sisters. She raised the issues and made the concerns her own, and educated the communities. "I did not know how a person could be an educated Christian, a thinking Christian, a Christian without dealing with them. But I did not require any kind of allegiance to them" (224).

As described by Chittister, the sisters she led experienced a frame transformation. This was based initially on very thorough theological work to articulate a vision for contemporary American Benedictine life—and the ensuing decision to take the particular direction of peace activism took the sisters on a journey which transformed their vision of the world. Their transformed frame resonated with the needs around them—and particularly the need for peace which they initially articulated. Like the sisters in Aranui the opposition they found was not from those they were working among, but from semi-outsiders and former supporters who could not understand how these sisters had transformed themselves. In their frame, the work of the sisters was running schools, and if the frame

were to be extended it would be perhaps by the inclusion of extra charitable works. If the frame were to be amplified, it could be perhaps by renewed emphasis on some traditional aspect of Benedictine life. The sisters however had radically redefined the scope of their life.

The examples given here show how religious communities have drawn inspiration from their founders, and interpreted that vision in response to the needs of the contemporary world. This process was not instant, but took time for discernment by community meetings. The role of leadership was crucial, not only for initially formulating the proposal for community decision, but also for steering the community through periods of opposition. Frame transformation calls for vision and commitment and the willingness to be unsettled, but also opens the way for resonance with the deeply felt needs of the day and the generation of energy to respond to those needs.

Frame alignment provides a way to understand how Franciscans (individually, or in local communities, or congregations) can position themselves as active peacemakers.

3. 2. 2 Resource Mobilisation

The other theory drawn on by Wittberg is resource mobilisation theory which, as its name suggests, focuses on how social movements tap the resources they need for success. This theory provides a way of dealing in "general terms with the dynamics and tactics of social movement growth, decline, and change," rather than focusing on the frustrations or grievances behind a movement (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1212). From the perspective of resource mobilisation the support base includes "conscience constituents" but also some with "no commitment" to the movement's values; and, in relation to larger society, the resource infrastructure includes "communication media and expense, levels of affluence, degree of access to institutional centers, pre-existing networks, and occupational structure and growth" (1217).

Wittberg observes that resource mobilisation theory has been little used to study movements of religious virtuosity, but suggests especially that this theory could be usefully applied to movements of specific religious orders. The resources they require are not only food, clothing and shelter, but also the support, or at least acquiescence, of church and secular authorities, as well as mentoring from others and networking with larger groups (Wittberg 1994, 26-27). These resources also include the factors that motivate

people to join religious congregations. "Prospective virtuosi may come together in the expectation that their participation will help to maintain some *collective good* … [or] for *personal* reasons … Another, and an extremely potent, motivation is the enlargement of one's personal identity that comes from participating in a movement larger than oneself" (27, emphasis in original).

In Wittberg's analysis, "the survival and ultimate hegemony of a particular ideological frame for religious virtuosity thus depends both upon the resonance of the ideology and upon the resources the groups ascribing to it can mobilize on its behalf" (28) as well as some form of communal commitment mechanism. Her work here is primarily concerned with analysis of the historical patterns of rise and fall in religious community membership, however it is useful to apply resource mobilisation theory to study the resources required and used as communities have found new ministries and ways of living in response to the Vatican II call for renewal. Resource mobilisation theory as outlined here is primarily concerned with what leads to the growth or decline of a social movement but it is not unreasonable to apply the same theory to analyse the resources which are needed for a new idea to take root and flourish within a religious order since in many ways it can be regarded as being like a movement within a larger entity.

Resource mobilisation theory speaks substantially of the material resources needed for a movement to thrive, but the resources of interest here are somewhat different. The renewal process shaped by Vatican II called specifically for returning constantly to the "sources of the whole of the Christian life and to the primitive inspiration of the institutes [i.e. religious congregations]," (Second Vatican Council, *Perfectae Caritatis* (Decree on the Up-to-Date Renewal of Religious Life): 2).[22] These sources, both biblical and of the writings of the founders of each congregation and their early histories, became important resources for renewal and much renewed energy was put into scholarship seeking to understand them authentically by making fresh editions, removing centuries of glosses, and translating them into modern languages.

The two examples cited in the section above on frame alignment illustrate this.

One of the resources used by the New Zealand Sisters of Mercy was a renewed understanding of their founder Catherine McAuley, and of how she began work among

22. Vatican Council (1988b).

the poor and destitute. Pauline O'Regan and other sisters were able to use this resource as normative for the Mercy charism, critically examine their existing ministries, mainly among the comfortable and upward-aspiring middle class, and came to see that in order to be faithful to this norm "we would have to direct our thinking towards the poor in New Zealand and serve them in some capacity" (O'Regan 1986, 97).

An increased awareness of social needs was a further resource they were able to use. Each sister had acquired greater autonomy, such as gaining the use of pocket money and more personal freedom. Although initially disorientating this experience began to open their eyes to the situation of people in ordinary life. Later this was supplemented through further study of social needs. Another resource they found was in their own experience of community life. The changes they underwent were not only personal but in their corporate structures. Feeling caught by tensions they could not resolve, they brought in an external facilitator to help them learn skills for conflict resolution and reconciliation. In an organisation built on precedent and building on prior decisions a key decision can also be used as a resource. The congregation had already made a decision in principle to establish a small community of sisters in an ordinary house. This decision remained as potential resource until able to be used by the group who initially requested permission to be those particular founding sisters. The letter they wrote requesting this permission referred to a number of these resources: the spirit of Vatican II, the teaching of Jesus and of their foundress. Finally, it was the resource of canonical church law which provided them with a solution to the crisis caused by their disobedience in not abandoning the project and returning to life as regular teaching sisters (O'Regan 1986, 91-111).

The other example referred to above was that of the Federation of St Scholastica. Before they were able to make any changes they undertook a thorough appraisal of the Rule of Benedict and the "entire history of Benedictine monasticism" in order for these historical sources to become for them a resource able to guide their life as present day Benedictine sisters (Chittister et al. 1977, 144). Leadership was a necessary resource, but as Chittister repeatedly writes, the important resource was the *community*. It discerned issues together, and made decisions together, and these decisions were that they would work together, each sister in her own way, but as a community committed to work for peace, despite the external opposition they encountered (Chittister 2005, 221-224).

Both these examples show the use of resources beyond those needed to meet material needs. These resources were in a sense taken for granted. An historically nuanced understanding of their founders was a resource in both cases, as was an understanding of the teachings of Jesus. The sisters were educated sufficiently to appreciate the depth of these resources, and their faith was mature enough for them to see a broader vision beyond continuing in existing ministries and ways of life.

3. 2. 3 Summary

This section overviewed two theoretical approaches to the study of religious communities or orders: frame alignment and resource mobilisation. Originally applied to the study of the growth and decay of communities, these theories were extended here to analyse briefly the radicalisation process in two communities seen through the three-fold perspectives of faith, community life and the teachings of the founder. This is summarised in Table 3-1 (p. 48).

3. 3 Research Propositions

The research question has already been stated as: What are the factors motivating decisions for active peacemaking engagement by Franciscans living in Sri Lanka? Questions which flow from this include: Do they engage in active forms of peacemaking? Does this engagement lead them to active political involvement? Or do they focus on pastoral responses to those in need around them? What factors affect these responses? How do they draw on their faith? How does their life in community affect this response? What is the role of their particular Franciscan identity and self-understanding? These responses could be any of a number of different forms of peacemaking, including such specifically religious responses as prayer, silence or ritual. In a sense they form the dependent variable. The question then is what is associated with these particular responses.

The literature review in the previous chapter considered both religious peacemaking and also the dynamics present in religious communities when they make decisions for active forms of social or political response. Two significant perspectives emerged from the literature on religious communities: (1) the faith and attitudes of the members, and (2) the dynamic of living in community. A third perspective can be added

to these: (3) the charism of the order as derived from its founder. (This third point was present in the examples above, and was a core mandate of the Vatican II renewal).

Table 3-1: Theory and Perspectives in Congregational Change

		Theory	
		Frame Alignment	*Resource Mobilisation*
Perspective	*Faith*	Recognition of key theological values and beliefs. Orientation to teachings of Jesus Christ, and living out of these in contemporary world. Commitment despite opposition.	Knowledge of scripture and teaching of saints informing faith. Resilience to respond creatively to opposition. Prayer. Maturity of faith to see broader vision.
	Community Life	Analysis of social situation and of position of community. Changes leading to new perspectives, and further change. Decisions made together for work together.	Knowledge of social needs. Study to deepen awareness. Gaining skills for conflict resolution, practising communal discernment. Key community decisions. Leadership.
	Founder	Interpretation of teaching/vision of founder(s) for 'sharpest need' of contemporary situation.	Knowledge of founder and original vision. Historical analysis of development of order.

The selection of these perspectives was driven by the insights which arise from the literature about change in religious community life, but they can also be seen in the examples above as well as a "big picture" view which defines the Franciscans being studied as (1) people of faith, who (2) live in community with each other, and who draw on that faith and experience of living in community and (3) the identity-shaping resources of that Franciscan tradition in making decisions about how to respond to the conflict around them.

This is not to say that other approaches could not yield interesting or useful research propositions in themselves. For example, it would be possible to study mobilisation for active peace work through the perspective of the financial resources required

since such work could call for a member to reduce paid income, or through the study of NGOs or international linkages for Franciscans.

Socio-political action, including actively engaged peacemaking, was looked at from each of these three perspectives, through the two theoretical lenses noted above, i.e. (a) frame alignment and (b) resource mobilisation. This generated six propositions through which the data were explored.

3. 3. 1 Religious Faith

The literature on religious dimensions of peace and conflict identifies a number of relevant faith or related attitudinal factors. Broadly, religion is normative and creates an identity, individual and collective, which can be closed or open to others (Harpviken and Røislien 2005) and shape attitudes of peace or of violence. Faith as a determiner of social action has been discussed above in Section 1.3.2 (p. 5) and will expanded on below in Section 6.1 (p. 155).

Religious communities are, fundamentally, communities of faith. This faith can lead to a life more orientated round religious values (as an expression of "religious virtuosity") than ordinary secular life. The ministries performed by members of religious communities might include ministries of service or education or proclamation, or of direct work for transformation of structures of injustice. These ministries are motivated by faith. Sister Marie Augusta Neal's work, using a measure of belief based round attitudes to pre- and post-Vatican II themes, established that religious belief was a significant factor "in establishing the definition of the situation which constitutes for believers the framework from which one makes the choices that result in changed social structures" (Neal 1970, 7).

Faith also emerged as a significant factor in both frame analysis and resource mobilisation as seen above. Religious faith can give the basic values and beliefs on which a community can reframe its mission to include an active peace orientation. Thus, if peace is seen as a normative spiritual value, and part of what is required of followers of Jesus, then if the community comes to realise a need for peace in the world around it, reframing can help it shift its orientation from traditionally held ministries to new ways of working for peace and give it the commitment to hold this orientation despite opposition. Similarly, faith can be a resource able to sustain an active peace orientation. Knowledge of scripture,

of theology, and of the teaching of the church can all inform faith and help it to grow in maturity to hold a broader vision beyond the self-referential. These resources can give resilience and inspire creative responses when difficulties come, and, for religious believers, the role and efficacy of prayer cannot be discounted.

The following two research propositions focus on the role of faith, through the theoretical lenses of frame alignment and resource mobilisation, in relation to actively engaged peacemaking. These propositions will be explored in Chapter 6 which addresses faith in relation to active peacemaking.

Research Proposition 1: Faith and Frame Alignment

Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking will articulate a rationale for this built on key theological values and beliefs. This rationale will be orientated to the teaching of Jesus Christ, built on a mature faith. They will analyse the "signs of the times," and apply their faith in active engagement with the contemporary world, seeking transformation of structures which cause violence. Their peacemaking will remain committed despite opposition. They will relate to other religions not for proselytisation but for mutual enquiry and enrichment, recognising that they share with others many universal values such as love and peace, and be able to engage in dialogue with others and seek reconciliation.

Research Proposition 2: Faith and Resource Mobilisation

Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking will have knowledge of their own scriptures and teachings (and perhaps something of other faiths as well). They will have the resilience to respond creatively to opposition. They will practice prayer, and find it strengthening and deepening. They will have the maturity of faith to give them a broader vision and the spiritual resources to engage in dialogue with those of other faiths.

3. 3. 2 Life in Community

The literature on religious community life identified several salient aspects of *community* life in relation to active socio-political engagement: the balance between individual and community interests and values, the development of family-like styles of community living; the role of commitment mechanisms; changing patterns of membership; and how different forms of religiosity shape community relationship with the world. The examples above of communities engaging in socio-political goals show the role of

community as resource in analysing a situation, and making a decision together to reframe their work to meet a new goal. Other resources included skills for conflict resolution and for practicing communal discernment. Leadership had a role, but only within the context of the community.

A religious community is a place where individual and community values meet. This mix will differ from community to community. The communities in some congregations have a more associational style, where individuals are free largely to pursue individual goals and the community or structures of the congregation provide little in common beyond being something to belong to. Conversely, intentional communities place more emphasis on adherence to commonly discerned and agreed values and goals. In these communities boundary separation mechanisms help form a higher degree of commitment to their common life. Evidence suggests that a community of a more associational style, whose members form a substantial part of their relationships outside the community, will be less likely to challenge its members to a counter-cultural stance (Wittberg 1991, 75-76).

Someone who joins a religious community experiences a time of training or socialisation, aimed at testing and coming to internalise the new reality. These communal practices strengthen individual commitment to the common goals of the community, and in those communities with a high degree of common life are likely to form a higher degree of boundary separation between community and "outside." Wittberg describes the purpose of communal commitment mechanisms as providing common activity as well as boundary maintenance, and protecting the ideological commitment of the members, yet observes that commitment mechanisms can be a two-edged sword (Wittberg 1994, 29-30). Without them, communities fail quickly, but with them, they can became "hollow shells" held together only by various forms of dysfunction (203).

Religious communities can no longer be considered "total institutions" or "greedy institutions" although they do still demand a high level of commitment not just to membership, but to forming relationships. Unlike monastic communities (such as Cistercians or Benedictines) Franciscan life is lived in the "cloister of the world" and involves a greater range of relationships with those outside the community, expressed through ministries, and also through informal contact with others. Internal relationships are important too. There is clearly potential for conflict whenever individuals choose to

live together and this can be multiplied by tension between individual and common goals, or a lack of clarity about or adherence to the common goals, or difficulties in communication or performing common tasks. These difficulties are likely to be compounded by living in a country divided by civil war, and ministering to the victims of that war.

The literature on religious aspects of peacemaking often mentions the role of leadership. Leaders can articulate a vision, and inspire others with the desire to work towards this. If the religious vision is limited it can take a leader to broaden this, perhaps by reframing previously held goals and practices. Religious communities, although fundamentally based on a communitarian form of life with a substantial degree of shared decision making, are substantially influenced by leadership. Their founders were leaders who responded to the needs of their times and who established a form of intensely religious community life. The refounding of communities often requires a similar leadership—risk-orientated and able to inspire the existing membership with renewed vision.

The following two research propositions focus on the role of community life, through the theoretical lenses of frame alignment and resource mobilisation, in relation to actively engaged peacemaking. These propositions will be explored in Chapter 7 which addresses life in religious communities in relation to active peacemaking by the members of those communities.

Research Proposition 3: Community Life and Frame Alignment

Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking will, as a community, and aided by its leadership, analyse the situation, study their perspective, and together make decisions about the pros and cons of their engagement. Those who have a positive sense of community will be able to develop forms of witness which are counter-cultural (unlike those in dysfunctional communities who will be more like to be influenced by prevailing values and opinions). Its members will be united round its commonly held goals, and feel they belong more to a family rather than hierarchical structure.

Research Proposition 4: Community Life and Resource Mobilisation

Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking are expected, as a community, to know the social needs around them and study to deepen their awareness of these. Their community life itself will be a resource for peacemaking, and they will practise skills to deepen this such as conflict resolution, communal discernment and decision making. The leadership of the community will be an effective resource for the community in helping

it reach its articulated goals. Within the community there will probably be a spirit of dialogue and openness whereby faith can be challenged and those who join can grow in faith. The community will understand that, although its work flows from its own religious conviction, it is directed to more universal goals.

3. 4 Methodology

3. 4. 1 Exploratory Survey of Franciscans

In order to obtain an overview of Franciscan work for peace, and to identify a more precise focus for this study, an initial survey was undertaken at the beginning of this research project in December 2011.

37 letters were sent to a range of contacts including:

- JPIC general secretariats of the major Franciscan congregations (i.e. their international offices in Rome).
- International or regional networks with a specific Franciscan character such as Franciscans International, Damietta Peace Initiative, Pace e Bene Non-violence Service, Comprehensive Course on the Franciscan Mission Charism.
- NGOs or similar organisations with a particular concern for peace such as Pax Christi, Caritas Internationalis, Comunità di Sant'Egidio, Religions for Peace, International Fellowship of Reconciliation.
- Some individuals already known or whose names were suggested by others above.

The letter asked for any information about specific ways in which Franciscans were known to be working for peace at local, provincial or individual levels. A list of possible forms (advocacy, intermediary, observer, educator, interfaith work, or non-violent action) was given as a prompt.

3. 4. 1. 1 Results of Exploratory Survey

From the responses to this letter some 116 "works for peace" were identified and entered in a database. Many of these were able to be verified from secondary sources such

as websites. Some "works" were quite specific, naming particular conflicts, regions, periods or people; others much more general (e.g. "Brother X was prominent in liberation theology"). Approximately half of the entries were derived from a very detailed response from one of the larger congregations of friars (who shared findings from a similar survey among their own provincial JPIC coordinators), while about one quarter related to specific congregations of Franciscan sisters. Geographically these were spread fairly evenly with 37% in Africa, 35% in Europe, 21 % in the Americas, 15% in Asia and 5% in Oceania.

Of the forms of work for peace the most common was facilitating understanding (33%), followed by education (29%), advocacy (14%), and nonviolent action (8%).

3. 4. 1. 2 Conclusion of Exploratory Survey

Franciscans seemed to be almost entirely absent from the top level and only sparsely at the middle level of Lederach's pyramid of leadership in peacebuilding (Lederach 1977, 39), and as peacemakers they lacked the international profile of religious groups such as Quakers or Mennonites. The forms of engagement reported on in this exploratory survey were by sisters or friars responding to conflict in the places they were already in, rather than going somewhere specifically as peacemakers. Another reported form of peacemaking was not a response to particular conflict but generally promoting peacefulness, particularly in a multi-faith environment.

Generally, the exploratory survey showed the range of forms of peacemaking in which Franciscans were involved and indicated several problematic areas. Given the methodological limitations of an informal survey, it cannot provide much more.

First, "peace" was a contentious concept for Franciscans. Some of the respondents wrote that it was marginalised, or commented that some leaders in movements such as liberation theology had become side-lined as official church teaching turned against them. One provincial JPIC animator wrote of organising a gathering of people of Christian and other faith communities from the locality around his church, but of opposition from the guardian of that friary "saying it was a waste of time trying to dialogue with Muslims." One friar mentioned the point of contention over accurate understanding of past roles of Franciscans in supporting the rise of violent nationalism, such as the role of Franciscans in Croatia in World War II in incentivising "hatred and racism." The same

friar also urged greater efforts for peace and reconciliation by friars present amidst deep seated violence in the Middle East, suggesting that within the Order there was "a lot of hesitation, different views and structural/internal weakness to address this major topic."

Second, the range of forms of peacemaking, carried out by different Franciscans of different congregations, in different conflicts, in different regions, was too great to make useful comparisons across so many variables. The research project would need to be quite specific and limit some of those variables.

It was decided to do an in-depth, single-country analysis of a country in conflict. The country chosen was Sri Lanka because it contained a number of different Franciscan congregations of both sisters and friars, spread geographically across the country. All have been affected in some way by that country's civil war. With the recent end of armed conflict, travel to all parts of the country was possible, and English was a common language used by all Franciscan sisters and friars.

Although a single-country study, the findings could possibly be extrapolated to other countries which have experienced violent civil war, or with a similar ethnoreligious mix.

3. 4. 2 Consideration of Possible Research Methods

The overall purpose of the research project was to generate understandings able to be of direct practical benefit to the Franciscans in Sri Lanka, and by extension to Franciscans elsewhere or to other similar forms of religious communities in Sri Lanka. The wider aim was to make a contribution to the emerging field of religious actors as peacemakers.

Having chosen to study the Franciscan communities of Sri Lanka in order to test the research propositions above, it was necessary then to select a research method capable of analysing a range of factors, some of which were naturally or easily quantifiable (such as age or locality), others of which were not, at least directly (such as faith). There were nine different Franciscan congregations of sisters and friars engaged in active ministries in Sri Lanka, and previous knowledge of some of these congregations suggested that each had its own way of being Franciscan (its charism), which was more than just a particular set of ministries. It would be necessary to have significant contact with a number of the local communities of each of these congregations, spread over different locations.

Qualitative methods such as participant observation (often combined with in-depth interviews) have frequently been used to study communities living in particular monasteries or convents[23] but such methods are not suitable for a range of Franciscan communities (friars and sisters separately) in different locations. In any case, a male researcher would probably not have access as a participant observer in a convent of sisters. Other research has been carried out primarily by quantitative methods such as large-scale postal surveys[24] but this could pose significant difficulties in a country where there is a possibility of government monitoring of communications.

Some preliminary discussions with Franciscans in Sri Lanka suggested that although there were many potentially willing participants, because of existing community and ministry commitments, there would be limited times each day when they would be available for research activities. This pragmatic consideration, as well as the range of information called for by the research propositions, suggested a mixed methods approach, using a combination of written questionnaire in each location (after explanation of the purpose of the research),[25] group discussions and in-depth interviews.[26]

3. 4. 3 Mixed Methods

Research which combines both qualitative and quantitative approaches (mixed methods research) has become increasingly used in the social sciences and other disciplines over the past thirty years. Recognising the various aspects which can be mixed (such as methods, methodology, or types of research), the point at which mixing occurs, and the scope or the rationale of mixing, Johnson et al. offer the following definition.

> Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints,

23. E.g. Campbell-Jones (1979), Gayer (1991), Hillery (1992), Wood (1996), Aileen-Donohew (2003), Gunn (2010).
24. E.g. Neal (1970), Ebaugh and Ritterband (1978), Gannon (1982), Spiegel (1989), Bishop (2008), Oviedo (2008).
25. In many cases it was possible to collect the completed questionnaires the following morning before travelling to another site.
26. Wijesinghe (2003) and two other researchers undertook a study of grassroots Christian peacemakers in Sri Lanka. They used questionnaires for faith and gender attitudes but also structured interviews because many participants "felt safer addressing controversial matters orally rather than in writing" and also Sri Lankans had a cultural preference for sharing information through conversation (173-174).

> data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner 2007, 123).

The twin purposes of "breadth and depth" relate naturally to the research propositions as well as the practical considerations of likely participants. The *breadth* called for here is geographic, and included not only Franciscan sisters and friars (some Secular Franciscans were also included) but also members of eight different Franciscan congregations or orders. The common feature was their Franciscan identity, and it was that identity the research was attempting to examine in *depth*, to see how Franciscans drew on their faith, their experience of living in community, and their shared resource of "being Franciscan" in making responses to the civil war around them.

A common criticism of mixed methods research is that epistemologically it is neither one thing nor the other. "Constructivism and poststructuralism are connected to qualitative research, and postpositivism is connected to quantitative research" (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner 2007, 125). Johnson et al. (along with a number of other mixed methods researchers) argue that pragmatism provides a suitable foundation for integrating different approaches.

> Pragmatism offers an epistemological justification (i.e., via pragmatic epistemic values or standards) and logic (i.e., use the combination of methods and ideas that helps one best frame, address, and provide tentative answers to one's research question[s]) for mixing approaches and methods. (125)

For Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) pragmatism focuses on the "consequences of research, on the primary importance of the question asked rather than the methods, and on the use of multiple methods of data collection to inform the problems under study" (41). A pragmatist ontology recognises "singular and multiple realities" and an epistemology of what is practical, in which "researchers collect data by 'what works' to address [the] research question" (42). Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) link pragmatism with mixed methods research and argue that the research question is more important than either the method or its underlying philosophical worldview and that a "practical and applied research philosophy should guide methodological choices" (as referred to by Creswell and Plano Clark 2011, 43-44). For a concurrent mixed methods design (as distinct from one where each method is used in a different phase), pragmatism "enables researchers to adopt

a pluralistic stance of gathering all types of data to best answer the research questions" (46).

The research propositions developed for this study naturally called for a variety of approaches. For example, although faith could be studied by the way people talked about it in in-depth interviews, it could also be studied across a much larger population by existing quantitative methods. Group discussions could give the researcher a feeling for group cohesiveness, but individual questionnaires could provide a safe anonymous way for participants to tell of unhappy community relationships. A pragmatic epistemology thus provided for the different aspects of this project to be addressed in a way which allowed for each to be explored in some depth.

A mixed methods approach has a number of practical factors to be considered. These include: the skills required, the time and resources likely to be used, and the potential difficulty of convincing others of the validity of mixed methods (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011, 13-16). These are very real concerns, but in practice perhaps the main concern was that the limited time for fieldwork would not permit sufficient depth for both qualitative and quantitative data collection. This was partly addressed by performing the quantitative data collection through a printed questionnaire which was simply distributed to participants in each fieldwork site with a minimum of instruction. These were then collected together but no analysis undertaken until after return home. Then, during the analysis phase, attention was switched between qualitative and quantitative data as need required. This provided a sense of fresh perspective from time to time.

The research design adopted here can be described as "convergent parallel" mixed methods in the typology developed by Creswell and Plano Clark (2011, 77-81). It brought together "differing strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses of quantitative methods (large sample size, trends, generalization) with those of qualitative methods (small sample, details, in depth)" (77). There were four major steps, (a) data were collected concurrently but separately, (b) each data set was analysed by means appropriate to it, (c) the results of this analysis were merged and the two sets are compared, (d) finally, the convergences or divergences of the two data sets were interpreted.

3. 4. 4 Examining the Research Propositions

The research propositions developed above related to (1) faith, and (2) life in community.[27] In this section, specific means of examining each of these propositions are described, from both qualitative and quantitative viewpoints.

3. 4. 4. 1 Faith

A mixed methods methodology for examining religious faith and related attitudes calls for both qualitative and quantitative approaches. These are outlined below, but first it is necessary to consider the selection of an instrument for a quantitative approach to faith.

Faith as a determiner of social action was discussed above in Section 1.3.2 (p. 5) and will expanded on below in Section 6.1 (p. 155). As defined here it cannot be measured, although it can be approached by considering the aspects of belief which drive it and the opinions and action which might result from it. A number of scales have been devised for assessing aspects of faith or belief in various dimensions. Some of these will be considered here.

Glock and Stark's work, and the critical evaluation it brought about, has helped define the parameters of research into faith. Although their faith scale seems to have some pragmatic usefulness, it is hard to imagine its validity for members of religious orders who experience a form of faith socialisation more intense than that of laity. Neal's approach to testing Vatican II change orientation seems to offer a useful understanding of active religious participation in socio-political change, although its origin in the years immediately following Vatican II may be limiting.

Many scales have been devised for approximating a measure of an individual's belief or faith. Cutting and Walsh (2008) report on the scales analysed in Hill and Hood (1999), and those developed subsequently, and note at least 177 scales. They observe that since many are concerned with internal religious experience or relationships with religious institutions, they lack a measure of the ethical aspects of religiosity or "prophetic public expression of faith and implementation of religious values in the world" (Cutting

27. The third perspective, Franciscan identity, is treated below in chapter 4.

and Walsh 2008, 138). Many scales too are heavily oriented towards a few segments of American Protestantism and thus may not be generalisable to Catholics (Woodberry et al. 2012). There are some specific scales such as a Catholic-specific scale which found basic religious values to be an effective predictor of some political orientations (Welch and Leege 1988, Leege and Welch 1989),[28] or a scale that aims at establishing what is normative in a particular religion and weighting the results accordingly (Mockabee, Monson, and Grant 2001). The chief difficulty with such mono-dimensional scales of religious faith is that they construct a spectrum such as "Fundamentalist / Conservative / Neo-orthodox / Liberal" (Glock and Stark) or "Pre-Vatican Orientation / Post-Vatican Orientation" (Neal) which tends to define a position on the scale in terms of extremes.

Although there seems to have been little study of the role of faith in religious communities, there has been further development of scales which look at more universal values such as positive openness to the wisdom of the "other." One example is Fowler's psychological developmental approach in his theory of faith stages but these are hard to operationalise (Fowler 1981, Parker 2010). As a parallel approach to Fowler's stages, Streib et al. developed and tested in the United States and Germany a Religious Schema Scale (RSS) as a measure of religious styles "on the spectrum between a more fundamentalist orientation on the one hand, and tolerance, fairness, and openness for dialog on the other" (Streib, Hood Jr, and Klein 2010, 155). This scale, particularly through its three subscales, has the potential to tap more thoroughly into universal values and offer useful insights into the relationship of faith to socio-political action. For these reasons it was adopted for this study.

The Religious Schema Scale relates to existing measures of tolerance/fundamentalism or inclusiveness/exclusiveness but extends to the "dialogical attitude" Streib et al. call *xenosophia*.

> This appreciation of the wisdom in encounter with the alien of course relates to Fowler's ingenious idea of assuming stages of faith *beyond* the individuative-reflective style, thus conceptualizing a style that he called "conjunctive faith" and that features the appreciation of the other and other faith traditions. (Streib, Hood Jr, and Klein 2010, 155, emphasis in original)

28. Krymkowski and Martin (1998) critiqued this approach for what they regarded as the assumption that religion was assumed to be a causal factor. Their critique was responded to by Segal (1999).

The RSS scores have, they claim, moderate predictive validity with regard to Fowler's faith stages, although they are not measuring exactly the same thing. Their approach is an interesting one, generating three subscales: (1) *truth of text and teachings*; (2) *fairness, tolerance and rational choice*; and (2) *xenosophia*, inter-religious dialogue (Streib 2010, Streib, Hood Jr, and Klein 2010). In the context of this study these subscales, like a three dimensional grid, relate to the aspects of belief based respectively on (a) attitude to scripture and (Catholic) church teaching, (b) attitude to values of fairness and tolerance in a society wounded by the distortions of civil war, and (c) openness to the wisdom of other religions in a society where those religions are substantial markers of the ethnic divisions of that war.

This scale, and particularly the concept of xenosophia, seemed to offer a helpful way of viewing the role of religious actors in peacemaking, especially in conflicts where religion was implicated. This scale recognises multiple dimensions of faith and recognises that faith is shaped by a variety of influences such as scripture, church teaching, upbringing, prayer, participation in ritual, and life experiences. Any of these can act to reinforce or challenge what is believed in, yet they do not necessarily act uniformly to lead to a linear development of faith. An individual's faith is a complex of objects of belief which may seem to an outsider to be cognitively dissonant but to the believer are able to be held together.

Research Propositions 1 and 2: Faith

Quantitative data was collected by questionnaire for surveying (a) the faith and related attitudes of individual members (using the Religious Scheme Scale) and (b) understanding of Franciscan peace values (using some purpose-compiled questions).[29]

Qualitative data was collected by group discussions with each community as a whole, and if opportunity permitted by interview with its local leader or other representative, exploring in depth how the members individually and as a community talked about their faith, attitudes, goals, prayer life and other spiritual resources, and their relationship with the world and other religions around them.

29. For the questionnaire used in the fieldwork see Appendix 3 (p. 329).

3. 4. 4. 2 Life in Community

Research Propositions 3 and 4: Life in Community

Quantitative data was collected by questionnaire for surveying (a) community functioning (using part of the Community Assessment Device (McGarrahan 1991)[30]) and (b) participants' understandings of the role of individual versus communal values in such matters as decision making and setting goals (using some purpose-compiled questions).[31]

Qualitative data was collected by group discussions with each community as a whole, and where possible with its local leader or other representative, exploring in depth the style of the community, how it analysed the situation around it and made decisions, the role of individual versus community, how internal tension was handled, the style and role of leadership, the relationship between community and leader.

3. 4. 4. 3 Demographic factors

Although a few studies used demographic factors as predictors of social or religious responses by members of religious communities (as outlined in the literature review) these studies, albeit using variables which were easy to operationalise, lack any insight into either individual motives or the effect of living with others in community. Nevertheless, some demographic factors were included in the questionnaire, at least as control variables. These included: age, country of birth, ethnicity, gender, length of time in religious community life and in current local community.

3. 4. 5 The Researcher

Reflexivity is widely recognised as an approach for helping researchers appraise their own social position and personal subjectivities so that they can recognise how these may affect the research project. This recognition can help ensure credible findings, and reflexivity in itself can generate new insights (Berger 2015). Most attention has been paid to the researcher's own social identity (positional reflexivity), but some recent research

30. Based on the McMaster Family Assessment Device (Epstein, Baldwin, and Bishop 1983).
31. For the questionnaire used in the fieldwork see Appendix 3 (p. 329).

has drawn attention to emotional reflexivity (Munkejord 2009). Wichroski (1996), conducting participant observation fieldwork amongst communities of nuns, noted that, like other qualitative researchers, "in many ways the fieldworker *is* the research instrument" (155, emphasis in original).

I am myself a Franciscan friar, and therefore have something in common with the research participants. Unlike them though, I am an outsider. I am white, live in Australia, and am an Anglican, and a member of the Anglican Franciscan order, the Society of St. Francis. I was only in Sri Lanka for short visits. I do not speak Tamil or Sinhala, and so in communicating in English we adopted the same "third language" used for internal communications such as training and administration within Catholic religious communities in Sri Lanka. English is far from being a neutral language and has been described as a sword for the division it creates (Perera 1995, 42). I was aware when visiting convents and friaries that I was treated as a special guest. Although many of the communities I visited were accustomed to their own members undertaking advanced degrees there were often misconceptions about the purpose of my visit. I explained that I had not come to give a lecture, or lead a seminar, but to ask questions and listen. I promised to return and share the conclusions of the research in whatever way might be helpful.

With this particular research project, I found that shared Franciscan identity created a bridge with participants (we thus already shared a common vocabulary and understanding of Franciscan texts), yet, on reflection, I realised my assumptions about the meaning and interpretation of these texts could at times blind me to participants' possibly different understandings. On the other hand, my Franciscan insider status granted privileged access to participants not only for the formal process of data gathering, but also for informal conversations in friaries and convents. These conversations, although "off the record", helped form impressions and shape future questions. However, I was not a local researcher. If I had been I would have shared ethnicity, or language or experiences with some participants (and probably not others). Such researchers face unique challenges and opportunities.

For this particular project the main concern was that of researcher identity. I could not claim to be neutral, since as a Franciscan I belong to an organisation for whom peace is normative and it is precisely the living out (or not) of that normative value by other Franciscans which I was studying. In acknowledging my perspective here, I am

making explicit a potential bias, as well as stating that I have attempted as much as possible to listen to participants as an outsider, inviting them to tell me their stories, how they construct faith, how they experience life in community, and how they understand the Franciscan tradition.

3. 5 Conclusion

This chapter began with an overview of two theoretical approaches to the study of religious communities or orders: frame alignment and resource mobilisation. Originally applied to the study of the growth and decay of communities, these theories were extended here to analyse briefly the radicalisation process in two communities seen through the three-fold perspectives of faith, community life and the teachings of the founder.

Four research propositions were derived from these theoretical approaches; relating each of faith and community life to engaged Franciscan peacemaking. (Two further research propositions relating to Franciscan identity are derived in the following chapter after setting the Franciscan context.)

This was followed by consideration of methodology. An exploratory survey of Franciscans had found that "peace" was a contentious subject for Franciscans, and that it seemed to occupy a marginalised position as part of "Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation." Nonetheless, there was a great variety of forms of peacemaking by Franciscans, mainly at grassroots level. A single-country, in-depth study of Franciscans in Sri Lanka was chosen in order to minimise the potential variables to be controlled for, and to permit useful comparisons between the different Franciscan congregations in that country.

This study was carried out through a convergent parallel mixed methods approach using quantitative methods (a questionnaire) to explore the breadth of Franciscan peacemaking and qualitative methods (semi-structured interviews and group discussions) to explore this in more depth. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection were then derived from each of the four research propositions (the two propositions relating to Franciscan identity are considered in the following chapter).

This chapter concluded with my identification as a Franciscan friar and acknowledgement of my position as a partial insider and partial outsider.

Chapter 4 The Context: Franciscan and Sri Lankan

4. 1 Outline

This chapter consists of two parts.

The first establishes and problematizes the Franciscan context, noting the range of interpretation today of Francis of Assisi and his peacemaking efforts, the historical ambiguity of Franciscan responses to conflict, the gap between rhetoric and reality in Franciscan peacemaking roles, and the challenges raised by the post-Vatican II construct of "Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation." It concludes with a derivation of two research propositions, drawing on the same two theoretical approaches already used, relating Franciscanism to active peacemaking in terms of frame alignment and resource mobilisation. This section is supplemented by an appendix containing selected early texts about peace or peacemaking either by or about Francis (many of which were referred to by participants in the fieldwork).

The second part contextualises the Sri Lankan conflict by describing the conflict's background, trajectory and consequences, attempts at peacemaking, the role of NGOs and civil society and finally the peacemaker role of the Catholic Church. This establishes the research participants as members of a religious group with an identity formed initially by colonialism and then modified by decolonisation, as well as noting their current social and pastoral situation in a much attenuated civil society.

4. 2 Francis of Assisi and the Franciscan Peace Tradition

4. 2. 1 Francis as a Man of Peace

Francis of Assisi is known as a man of peace and his name is often invoked in support of peace. The Franciscan greeting, "*pace e bene*" [peace and good] or the late 19th century prayer, "Lord, make me an instrument of your peace" are frequently heard at Franciscan gatherings. Although the prayer is not in the authentic Franciscan sources, scholarly quibbles are not relevant to the reasons people seek inspiration from the poor man from Assisi. He was born in Central Italy, in the Umbrian city-state of Assisi in 1181/1182. Italy was then afflicted with frequent conflict, erupting at times into armed

warfare. Francis as a young man was imprisoned after a battle between Assisi and neighbouring Perugia. On his return, after a time of recuperation, he still wanted to seek military glory, and set out from Assisi to join an armed campaign in Apulia, before a dream led him to abandon this path and to return to Assisi.[32] Several conversion experiences in 1205-1206 finally inspired him to reject the expected career of following in his father's steps as textile merchant. He gave away his possessions, dressed himself as a pilgrim, and left Assisi to live outside the city, caring for lepers and spending time in prayer. Soon others joined him; in his lifetime about four thousand men. These were the first Franciscan friars. Like Francis they were devoted to prayer and service, with lives marked by a strong sense of fraternal relationship, poverty, and being "lesser brothers" to each other and those they were among.

The Franciscan sources record several of Francis' sayings about peace that are generally believed to be authentic and also tell of several specific instances of peacemaking initiated by him. These include the account of how he created peace between the townsfolk of Gubbio and the wolf which had been terrorising them,[33] his instructions to the brothers of Monte Casale hermitage about how they were to respond to the demands of the robbers in the forest around them,[34] his mission in 1219 to where the Fifth Crusade was being fought near Damietta,[35] his preaching of peace in Bologna in 1220, and in 1225 his healing of the division between the bishop and *podestà* of Assisi.[36] These sources belong to the hagiographic literary style of *legend*, and so cannot be regarded as biography in the modern sense.[37] Although difficult to assess historically, for Franciscans today they form the inspiration for the "Franciscan peace tradition."

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32. Francis' subsequent life of manual labour, of being with the marginalised lepers, and of rejection of status and power has been seen as a radical inversion and Christian redemption of the traditional values of medieval chivalry which had previously inspired him (Elvins 2010).
33. This story has particular appeal to the imagination; for example as a source for deriving elements of Franciscan involvement in conflict resolution (Godet-Calogeras 1996, 2002); a Jungian interpretation shows that Francis in embracing the wolf was showing the way of healing and integrating the forces of darkness and destruction (Berna 1988); or a sign of the Franciscan way of confounding evil and embracing a religious system of relationship (Hoeberichts 2004, 252-254). See Appendix 2.4 (p. 322).
34. See Appendix 2.3.3 (p. 321).
35. See Appendix 2.5 (p. 324).
36. The *podestà* was the elected civil official, charged with the responsibilities of chief magistrate and local administrator. See Appendix 2.3.1 (p. 319).
37. In this context *hagiography* simply means writing about the life of a saint, to inform and inspire the hearer. As a form it includes *legend*, the technical term for a text to be read out loud in a particular religious setting such as during the cycle of daily prayer. These terms as used here do not carry the modern pejorative meaning.

4. 2. 2 Modern Interpretations of Francis

Franciscan scholarship has two main streams: (1) the *exegetical*, concerned with the critical interpretation of the texts and events associated with Francis and (2) the *hermeneutical*, interpreting these texts and events for the present day. Much of the literature is directed to Franciscans, rather than scholars per se, and discursive rather than analytic, but it forms a resource which interprets the historic sources and shapes how they are understood and used by Franciscans today. This scholarship takes several different approaches to interpreting Francis, generating a range of potential responses from the devotional or pietistic, through to active engagement in socio-political matters.

Some writers see peace in the life and writings of Francis as a spiritual value or virtue finding its expression primarily in prayer and secondarily in practical activism. Seen through this lens, Francis was not a social reformer; his authority and leadership were primarily spiritual and his goal of peace was entirely religious (Schmucki 1995). His preaching of peace and penance was part of his life of conversion which reflected the fruits of poverty and humility (Kinsella 2004), or he was a peacemaker as an expression of a prior inner peace (De Ruijte 1977). Francis connected inner peace with patience and humility giving him the "disposition or the attitude from which reforms of social relations could take place" (Zweerman 1995, 41). However, although he may have had a greater concern for spiritual values he also worked to bring about physical peace as the necessary precursor of salvation (Cook 1983). In a letter to the Franciscan Ministers General, Pope John Paul II stated "St. Francis was not only a man full of joy, but also one who worked for peace and universal brotherhood." Appreciating the potential of Franciscans for spiritual renewal, the pope warned them to be loyal to the church like St Francis, and abandon "private programs for renewal" (John Paul 1984).

An approach more integrated with activism sees that the "Franciscan path of peace is, indeed, a counter-cultural one … [that] calls forth the total gift of one's life for the sake of the greater whole, the unity of humankind and creation in the love of God" (Delio 2004, 289). Francis' method of peace was to "'expose' oneself to the visible enemies with peace in one's heart and peace as the sword" (Lobo 1995, 98). "Dialogue, nonviolent intervention and common sense are core to a spirituality of peacemaking and reconciliation" and it is voluntary poverty, material and spiritual, which makes Franciscans available for God's service (Mueller 1998, 130). Francis' life of conversion led to the

values of forgiveness, reconciliation and peacemaking becoming the central values round which he oriented his life (Schrein 2009).

More radical views interpret Francis and the early friars in a dialectical relationship with Assisi and its world of economic power and oppressive socio-economic values. The Franciscans, valuing minority (i.e. living as "lesser" people), made their own alternative way of living in peace *outside* Assisi as a critique of the rich and powerful *inside* the city-states (Flood 1982, 1985, 1989). Boff (1982) sees Francis from the perspective of liberation theology as a model for human liberation and Grady (1996) as a model of peace and a pacifist pioneer, while Hoeberichts (2008) critically challenges the classification of Francis and his companions as wandering preachers for overlooking the view that Francis above all else was creating an evangelical peace movement which was to show to the world, through deeds and through being subject to all, that Jesus' greeting of peace was real for them and all people. Some scholars issue specific challenges for Franciscans: to live today by the predominant values in his life, "conversion, poverty, minority, contemplation" as "aspects of peace-serving" (Lynch 1986, 73), or to work for bilateral disarmament and elimination of nuclear weapons (Quinn 1981) or be active in rejecting war and violence (Finnegan 1991).

Since the World Trade Center attack of September 11, 2001 and the launch of the "War on Terror," Franciscans and others have reflected extensively on the meeting in Damietta, Egypt between Francis and the sultan, Malik al-Kamil in 1219 during the Fifth Crusade.[38] This meeting is often portrayed in manuals for Franciscan peacemakers as a model for peacemaking or respectful dialogue between religions (e.g. Warren 2013) and is significant not only for this but because of the Franciscan historic and continuing presence in Islamic territories (Camps, Francis, and Jeusset [ca. 1991]). The same spectrum of views present in the general Franciscan peace literature is here too, ranging from pacifistic interpretation of Francis as being opposed to the Crusade and desiring peaceful dialogue (Hoeberichts 1997), or as a new non-violent type of crusader who met the sultan as an equal partner in deep dialogue (Thomas 2008a, b, 2011), through a more evangelistic interpretation which sees him engaging in interfaith encounter as a way of presenting Christian belief (McMichael 2012), to a more bellicose Francis who generally supported

38. See Appendix 2.5 (p. 324) for some of the main historical texts.

the Crusade and desired the Sultan's conversion (Powell 2007, Rega 2007, Hoose 2010). A popularly written account portrays Francis as fundamentally a peacemaker, but suggests this view was erased by the church to suit its waging of the Crusades (Moses 2009). Francis wrote of living "in submission" to every creature, and his meeting with the sultan led to a deepened understanding of "submission" as De Beer (1994) suggests. The story is used as an encouragement for present-day Christians to be peaceful in their dealings with Muslims (Johnson 2001), and as a model for non-violence (Dennis 1993, ch. 5). The interpretation of this meeting as a model for interfaith dialogue has been critiqued (Tolan 2009), but there is evidence that after his return from Damietta, Francis promoted some practices drawn from his experience of Islam such as ringing bells to call all citizens to regular daily prayer and venerating sacred texts because they contain God's holy name. This valuing of the good in another religious tradition (*xenosophia* in the Religious Schema Scale used in this study) is described by a manual on Franciscan nonviolence as "necessary to the practice of nonviolence" and showing a "willingness to search together for aspects of truth found in different traditions" (Butigan, Litell, and Vitale 2003, 33).

4. 2. 3 Franciscans in History[39]

Francis was fully immersed in the world around him. He travelled extensively, preached, cared for the needy, and helped those in conflict to find peace. He also regularly withdrew for long periods of retreat. The early friars continued in the same way but the small movement founded by Francis rapidly grew to an order active in many countries. The thirteenth century was a time of great growth for Franciscans, often at spiritual or geographic frontiers, engaged with the world around them. Franciscans over successive centuries experienced serious internal conflict over the interpretation of the will of Francis. Attempts at reform, to return closer to the life of Francis, led to further conflict and division, but even these "reformed" branches, once stable and institutionalised, lost some-

39. This historical overview is mainly of the First Order of friars and, in passing, the Third Order (in modern terms, Secular Franciscans). The Franciscan sisters who engage in active ministries who are also part of this project belong to congregations founded in the 19th or 20th centuries, and have had more specific histories and so do not share the history of the friars.

thing of their vigour. Externally, Franciscans had a complex, even ambiguous, engagement with the violence around them. The historical sources tend to describe the deeds of the educated and talented elite who became diplomats, famous preachers or significant leaders. This can give the misleading impression that it was only this elite who worked for peace, however there are hints in some sources of grassroots work by "ordinary" Franciscans.[40]

A major way in which Franciscans served the church historically was as agents projecting papal power to the "borders" of faith. Thus, during the Crusades, they preached recruiting sermons, while at the same time serving as guardians of the sacred shrines in the Holy Land. Franciscans were also employed as inquisitors, investigating heresy in parts of medieval Europe. They had become trusted and well educated and served in many papal legations, such as that to Constantinople, trying unsuccessfully to help heal the doctrinal difficulties which eventually led to the schism between Eastern and Western Christianity.

Friars were present at the geographic frontiers of Christendom. They could live simply and travel without encumbrance, were well educated, and prepared for martyrdom. Thus they were employed as papal envoys, trying to secure the submission and conversion of non-Christian leaders, and at times giving advice on how these leaders could be defeated. Friars also served in the Christian areas of Europe as papal diplomats, or acted on behalf of secular rulers, and sometimes helped resolve the conflicts and frequent violence which disrupted civic life, at least when this conflict was damaging the interests of the party they represented. Again these roles are ambiguous. They may be interpreted as peacemaking, but the motivation might not have been peace as much as the projection of papal or royal/imperial power.

40. The general Franciscan histories consulted for this section include Moorman (1968), Iriarte (1982), Robson (2006), and Carmody (2008). Specific works include: Roncaglia (1957) on Franciscan relationships with the Holy Land; Lesnick (1989) on the role of Franciscan preaching for peace in medieval Florence; Freed (1977) on friars and German society in the 13th century; Bonacini (2013) on friars in 12th to 15th century Modena; Mormando (1999), and Polecritti (2000) on Bernardine of Siena and his preaching peace in renaissance Italy; Kampling (2005) on John of Capistrano. For some biographical accounts of Third Order members see Hallack and Anson (1957).

The local presence of friars in the cities and towns of Europe is much less apparent in the historical accounts, yet it is here that there is some evidence of local peacemaking in internal disputes and of being a peaceful presence in civic affairs. Franciscan historiography has tended to focus on the elites, but recent scholarship is beginning to uncover the variety of ways in which friars were part of the communes[41] of medieval and early-modern Italy, serving in ways such as general financial administration or overseeing public works. Such activities might not seem to be directly peacemaking, but it was disputes over such issues which lay behind the extreme and widespread intra-communal violence of the medieval / early-modern period. Another example of promoting the peace of urban life was the Franciscan involvement in establishing the *monte di pietà* ["compassionate fund"] in a number of Italian cities to provide low interest loans of cash or seed for cropping.

An important part of Franciscan mission was preaching repentance to call people back to devout Christian practice. Factionalism was rife as feudal and ecclesiastical power confronted the strength of the new forms of civil organisation. Preaching was a popular means of peacemaking through which warring factions could be brought to awareness of their sin and likely fate in the life to come and thus led through a ritual process of reconciliation including the public signing of an *instrumenta pacis* ["instrument of peace"]. Yet this too is ambiguous; some friars who preached peace among Christians were also active inquisitors and supported the crusades, and in the case of John of Capistrano recruited 30,000 troops in 1456 to defend Belgrade from Ottoman troops.[42] These friars were men of their own worlds, with the prejudices of their days and concerned for peace only among Christians. Heretics, Jews and Muslims were outside the reach of this peace and friars actively participated in violence against these "others."

The Protestant reformation in Europe provided a new "other" for the friars (who included now the Capuchin Franciscan reform) to respond to by serving as chaplains and

41. "Commune" in this context refers to the form of collective government and agreement for mutual defence among the members of a European (especially central Italian) city or town.
42. "Anyone who volunteered automatically became his friend: Serbs, schismatics, Rumanians, Jews, heretics or pagans;" the defending troops also including "large numbers of minor clergy, monks, Franciscan and other friars, hermits, students and adventure seekers" (Carmody 2008, 336-337).

preachers in the religious wars. However, many of these roles were ended by the widespread suppression of religious orders in France and other European states in the late 18th-19th century.

There are few published studies available looking at Franciscans and peace in the 20th century before Vatican II, although there are occasional references in popular literature to friars as peacemakers.[43] Negatively, Franciscans were implicated in ethnic violence through their links to the Ustaše in the Nazi-created Independent State of Croatia, and as agents of genocide, especially at the Jasenovoc concentration camp. The commandant of this camp, Miroslav Filipović, had been a Franciscan until his expulsion from the order in 1943 (Phayer 2000, 31-40).[44] Another example, this time of a Franciscan peacemaker, and one of the few to appear in peace studies literature, is Ivo Markovic who founded in 1996 the Pontanima choir and orchestra from all the ethnic groups in Bosnia. He thus provided a way for people separated by ethnically driven civil war to come together to perform the sacred music of each tradition, even if some at first regarded it as the "music of the enemy" (Steele 2003, Brajovic 2006, 197, Little and Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding 2007, 97-119).

As well as the friars, the lay order of Tertiaries, (the Order of Penitents), actively worked for peace from the time they were founded by St Francis. The religious Rule they lived under initially had a strong commitment to pacifism, prohibited service in public office or militia, and the taking of solemn oaths. As a permitted alternative they undertook other civic duties which at times included peacemaking. This pacifism was ambiguous since it did not necessarily prohibit them from taking part in crusades; their Rule was somewhat relaxed in 1289 by Nicholas IV to allow arms to be carried "in defence of the Roman church, the Christian faith, or their country, or with the permission of their ministers" (Carmody 2008, 195).

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43. An example is the claim made by Marchione (1997) that the friar Rufino Niccacci helped shelter Jews in San Damiano Friary in Assisi in World War 2. Her writing is overshadowed by her concern to demonstrate that the Catholic Church was not then anti-Semitic; Raischl and Cirino (2005) critically examine the evidence and suggest that Marchione has overplayed the role of the Franciscans; it was only the (non-Franciscan) bishop who was in the position to hoodwink the Nazis on such a large scale.
44. The ethnically charged memories of the Ustaše were revived by the Herzegovinian Franciscans in the recent Balkans conflict to bolster support of the militant nationalistic agenda and oppose peacemaking initiatives (Steele 2003, 141).

4. 2. 4 JPIC: Practical Contemporary Approaches to Peace for Franciscans

As noted above, although Franciscans have had since their origins a positive peace tradition, this has sometimes been lost in the demands of other forms of service. Vatican II prepared the way for a renewed engagement with the needs of the world under the general umbrella of Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation (JPIC).

The largest part of the Franciscan family, the Order of Friars Minor, took up the challenge of renewed engagement at its 1971 (Medellin) and 1973 (Madrid) General Chapters and in 1979 the Order established its Justice and Peace Commission followed by its International JPIC office in 1981 (Quigley 2001, 30-34). This led to an extensive network of international and regional JPIC meetings and associated publications, yet despite this apparatus, and official recognition of their vision of being "promoters of a new culture of hope and solidarity" (34), JPIC is rather problematic. Among the difficulties listed at the 2000 OFM JPIC congress were friars not regarding JPIC as a "valid area of full time work" or as an "important part of evangelization." JPIC raised "disturbing or at least uncomfortable" issues which were at times met with defensive reactions from friars, or hostile reactions to the existence of an international JPIC structure (34).

> The international civil society is asking for our input and participation in policymaking. The poor hope that we can represent them in places and meetings where decisions that affect their lives, are being made. Friars living with the poor need the support of an international advocacy network where their concerns are channeled for action and reform. Also friars who are working in threatening situations need the protection that international solidarity and attention can offer them (34).

The difficulties for Franciscans becoming actively engaged in JPIC seem to remain in the present day, as shown by the preliminary survey of international Franciscan JPIC bodies undertaken as part of this research, and by repeated exhortations to friars that "commitment to JPIC is part of the DNA of our Franciscan lives" (e.g. International Council of JPIC 2012, 2, 6, 9).[45]

45. "DNA" is here used as a way of emphasising that JPIC is part of the basic identity of Franciscan life and not an optional extra.

JPIC has generated a substantial amount of writing for Franciscans such as practical training manuals, reports of JPIC conferences or congregational chapters, newsletters and papers from specific programmes.[46] An example of one of these publications is the Order of Friars Minor *Franciscan Peacebuilding Toolkit* (2013) which contains modules for workshops on peacebuilding, conflict management and reconciliation. This book was substantially based on a similar work by Caritas International and published in response to a General Chapter mandate asking "all the Entities of the Order, with the help of the JPIC Office, [to] commit themselves to promote active nonviolence in [their] lives, with particular emphasis on the resolution of conflicts" (Order of Friars Minor. JPIC Office and Animation Committee 2013, 3, citing Mandate 43.3 of the 2009 General Chapter). The manual is based on the "conviction that the way to do peacebuilding is by nonviolent resolution of conflicts, whether in group or social settings" (3). This is derived from an historically based view that Franciscans were founded as a fraternity sent into the world to announce a peace which "must be lived first of all within ourselves and then in our relationships" and it calls for an active nonviolence "which is not the simple absence of violence, but is rather dependent on the power of truth and love" (5). In this brief description there are several themes also seen in other publications: promulgation of material in response to high-level decisions within the order, a view of peacemaking derived from an historical view of the early Franciscan fraternity, and the need for this peacemaking to be real among the friars first before they take it to others. As well as the work of individual Franciscan congregations there are several Franciscan inter-congregational entities with similar material, such as the Damietta Peace Initiative (DPI) in sub-Saharan Africa and the Comprehensive Course on the Franciscan Missionary Charism (CCFMC).[47]

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46. A few examples are: Franciscan Institute of Asia (1987), Haversack (1996), Order of Friars Minor (1999), International Franciscan (OFM) Congress (2001), Butigan, Litell, and Vitale (2003), Order of Friars Minor (2003), Order of Friars Minor Capuchin. International JPE Assembly (2004), Franciscan Peace Project for Africa (n.d.).
47. DPI (http://www.damiettapeace.org.za) was founded by South African Capuchin friars seeking "to develop community-based groups—known as Pan-African Conciliation Teams (PACTs)—throughout Africa, to welcome people of all faiths in sowing the seeds of peace through non-violence, reconciliation and care for creation, in the spirit of Saint Francis of Assisi" (Damietta Peace Initiative: Africa 2009). CCFMC (http://www.en.ccfmc.net) began initially in Germany and now operates in many other countries. It is a programme, based on a study-reflection model, for those who wish to deepen their knowledge of the Franciscan charism. Among its 24 modules is *The Franciscan Com-*

These manuals and courses have usually been compiled in response to a decision made by a Franciscan chapter or JPIC conference, thus giving them a certain status within a congregation. However, many local Franciscan communities face competing demands on their time and availability and evidence suggests that at least in some regions "JPIC" is marginalised as a minority special interest and that even within JPIC there is more emphasis on the environmental and justice aspects than on peace.[48]

Despite the efforts of JPIC promoters, it is easy to suggest that peace is the poor cousin of justice and integrity of creation. These other concerns are well integrated theologically with peace; peace with the whole created order is part of the whole Franciscan vision, as is the integrity of just and peaceful human relationships, but if we take a narrower scope of peacemaking (e.g. practical forms of conflict resolution, or challenging the violence of oppressive regimes) it does seem comparatively neglected.

4. 2. 5 Conclusion: Franciscans and Peace

Francis pioneered a new way for people with religious vows to live in the world and actively engage with its needs and struggles. This engagement included proclaiming and actualising peace wherever there was discord. Those who followed in his footsteps, although committed to this same way of peace, because of their success also often found themselves at the service of powerful figures in church or civil society and in ambiguous roles as "proclaimer of peace" *and* "papal envoy" or "preacher of crusades" or even "crusader." These roles have changed. Franciscans, although at the service of the (Catholic) church, are no longer its envoys or fighting its battles. Attempts are made to position JPIC as normative, "part of the Franciscan DNA," yet this seems problematic, as does the position of "Peace" within the "Justice" and "Integrity of Creation" of JPIC.

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mitment to Peace (Comprehensive Course on the Franciscan Missionary Charism [ca. 2000]). *Building Parish Justice and Peace Groups* is another similar manual, in a southern African context (O'Leary and Tom 2003).

48. This privileging of Justice and Creation over Peace can perhaps be seen in the proportion of space given to peace concerns in JPIC publications. One of the most substantial of these is *Contact* published by the international JPIC secretariat of OFM. An approximate count of the 42 pages of the 4 issues in 2014 shows that articles substantially and specifically about peace occupy about 3 of those pages. Articles about general JPIC events or particular topics such as environmental matters or human rights occupy most of the newsletter. It is unfair to generalise from one publication but it does support what has been heard anecdotally from several friars.

The historic peace churches found a new identity as active engaged peacemakers through a reframing of their traditionally held "pacifism of separation." The Franciscan identity has never been separation, but rather engagement, often on terms determined by the powerful figures of the time. Post Vatican II the challenge for Franciscans seems to be for the values of Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation (in a broad sense, not limited by JPIC as an organised structure) to drive the engagement with the world.

The Franciscan literature suggests some possible elements for a Franciscan foundation for peacemaking. Francis' life of poverty and minority ("smallness") made him utterly reliant on God and removed any self-sufficiency which would weaken his fraternal relationship with others. Today the values of poverty, minority and fraternity are a challenge to the forces of worldly power and domination.

Non-Franciscan writers add to this picture. Voluntary poverty is part of the monasticism (in the broad sense of the word) of both Christianity and Eastern religions such as Buddhism, but for the Sri Lankan Jesuit, Aloysius Pieris, this voluntary poverty must be socially liberative. "When followers of Jesus opt to be poor for the sake of the gospel, they would live not only in solidarity with Asian monks and nuns in their quest for the metacosmic Reality, but more so in solidarity with the Asian poor who aspire for a *cosmic* order that is more just and holy" (Pieris 1990, 57, emphasis in original). Lederach's (2005) description of peacemaking driven by moral imagination (including the enemy as part of a web of relationships, embracing complexity, believing in the power of creativity and accepting the risk of stepping into the unknown) also touches the Franciscan points of peacemaking. Francis, who had nothing to lose, did not fear to go to the heart of the "enemy," and call him his "brother," trusting in divine inspiration to generate a creative response. The title of Harold Saunders (2005) book, *Politics is about Relationship* succinctly captures the way Francis, the "little brother" made peace by seeing the enemy as "brother/sister" and drawing them into relationship with him. For Saunders, "politics is what happens when citizens outside government come together and build relationships to solve collective problems" (19). Franciscans, in constructing their identity as peacemakers, can draw not only on their own rich tradition but also on the insights of others who have given a valued place to relationship and creative engagement in peacemaking.

The Franciscan history is problematic. A strong initial orientation to peace and justice and creating a new socio-economic way (in 13th century terms) seems to have

been almost subjugated by the demands of serving the church. This tradition generates a challenge for active Franciscan peacemaking in the world today and efforts to revive something of the initial orientation under the JPIC banner have been only partially successful.

4. 2. 6 Research Propositions

The previous chapter stated four research propositions (1-4) derived from considering (1) Faith and (2) Community Life as related to actively engaged peacemaking, each of these seen through the two theoretical lenses of (a) frame alignment and (b) resource mobilisation. Two more research propositions (5 and 6) relating to Franciscan identity will now be added, also drawing on the same theories. These propositions will be examined in Chapter 7 on Franciscan identity.

Research Proposition 5: Franciscan Identity and Frame Alignment

Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking will critique their engagement in ministry, their self-understanding, and will be able to reframe this engagement to meet new goals. They will see peacemaking with others as an expansion of what they first experience among themselves. Peacemaking will be seen in a broader context of working for right relationships with all humanity, and indeed all creation.

Research Proposition 6: Franciscan Identity and Resource Mobilisation

Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking will be able to draw on a range of Franciscan resources including knowledge of the life of Francis and of related texts, Franciscan history, current JPIC literature, and self-reflection.

4. 2. 6. 1 Examining the Research Propositions: Franciscan Identity

The methods for examining research propositions 1 and 2 (Faith) and 3 and 4 (Life in Community) were outlined above in Chapter 3. Here we briefly consider the methods for the research propositions on Franciscan identity.

Quantitative data was collected by questionnaire for surveying understandings of socio-political action versus devotionalism as part of the Franciscan identity.[49]

49. For the questionnaire used in the fieldwork see Appendix 3 (p. 329).

Qualitative data was collected by group discussions with each community as a whole, and where possible with its local leader or other representative, exploring in depth its understanding of the Franciscan charism, and how it applied this in decisions for action in response to the needs in those it serves.

4. 2. 7 Summary of Research Propositions

The research propositions above and in the previous chapter are summarised in Table 4-1 below and in the model of "Engaged Franciscan Peacemaking" in Figure 4-1 (p. 79).

Table 4-1: Summary of Research Propositions

		No.	*Active Engaged Franciscan Peacemaking*
Faith	*Frame Alignment*	1	Mature faith, enriched by other religions, and applied in active engagement with the world, seeking transformation of structures causing violence.
	Resource Mobilisation	2	Knowledge of own scriptures and teaching. Resilience and spiritual practice such as prayer able to be used as resource.
Life in Community	*Frame Alignment*	3	Community analysis, discernment and action. Leadership helping articulate goals for change.
	Resource Mobilisation	4	Skills learnt in community for conflict resolution, communal discernment and decision making.
Being Franciscan	*Frame Alignment*	5	Critique of Franciscan ministry, reframing to meet new goals. Peacemaking is expansion of what they practice among themselves and in the wider context of right relationships with all of creation.
	Resource Mobilisation	6	Knowledge of Franciscan sources and history, and current understandings of JPIC, etc.

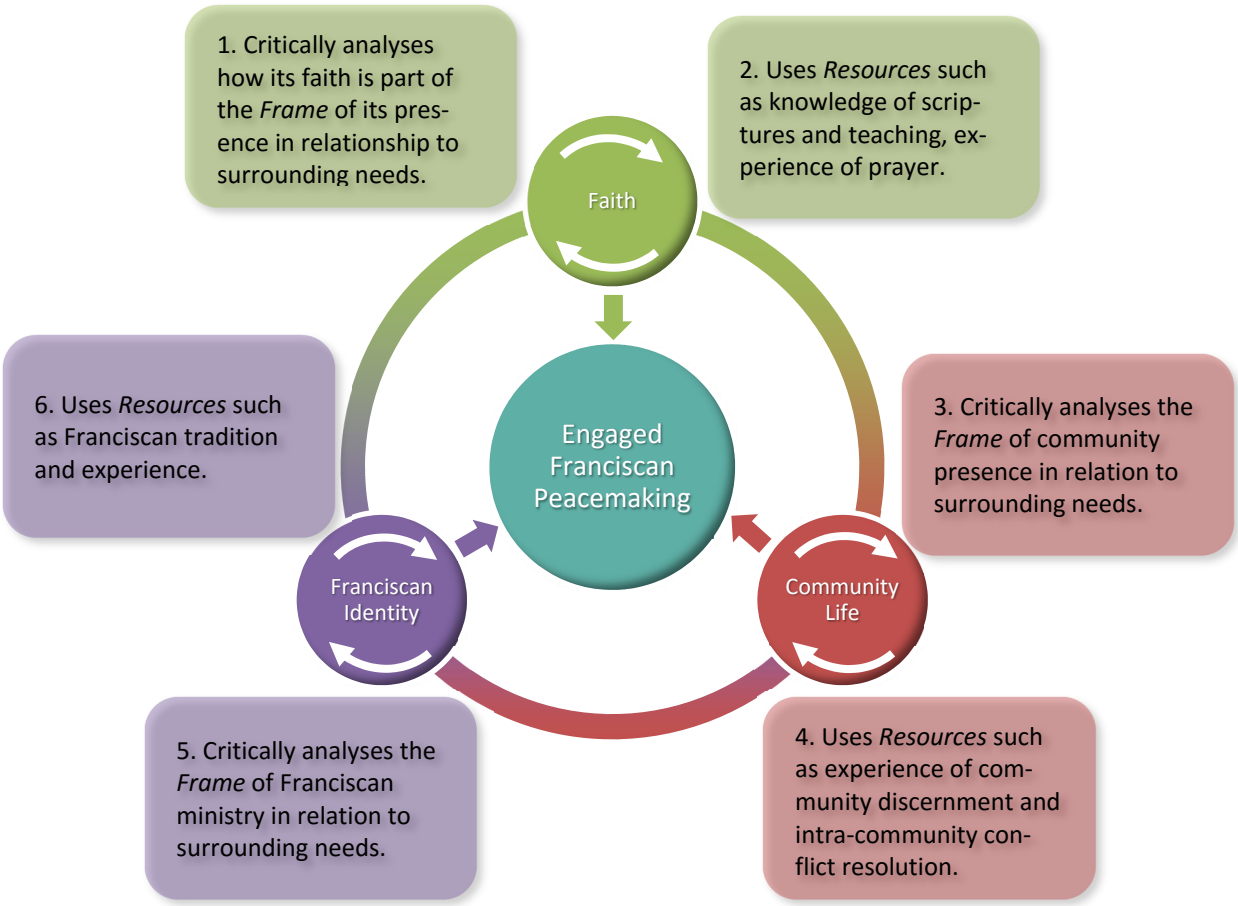

Figure 4-1: Engaged Franciscan Peacemaking

The figure above illustrates in an abbreviated way the relationship between the three perspectives chosen for this study and the two theoretical lenses of Frame and Resource applied to each. Within each perspective the theories circle each other, reinforcing the positive aspects of each perspective, as they in turn relate to engaged Franciscan peacemaking.

4. 3 Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, the teardrop shaped island to the south of India formerly known as Ceylon, and now officially as the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, has a multi-ethnic and multi-racial population of some 20 million. Its deep harbours, natural resources and strategic location have made it a place of both maritime trade and colonial conquest. It has been independent since 1948, but from 1983 to 2009 was torn apart by inter-ethnic civil war, as well as experiencing the devastation of the 2004 Asian tsunami.

Figure 4-2: Map of Sri Lanka [50]

The Sri Lankan conflict was a complex mix of many factors such as "exclusivist identity politics, dynastic rivalries, uneven development patterns and flawed mediation

50. Source: United Nations (2008).

efforts" (Sørbø et al. 2011, 18) and resulted from incomplete state formation at the time of independence in 1948, and the ascendancy of ethnicised politics (Uyangoda 2011). At the heart of this was the failure of the country's democratic system to cultivate an inclusive state and a sense of nation incorporating all minorities. "Extreme Tamil and Sinhala nationalisms have become the vehicles through which the periphery critiques and challenges the centre" (Goodhand and Klem 2005, 25).

This struggle generated its own energy beyond that of simple inter-ethnic conflict and, drawing on "taproots of discord [which] reach … deeply into the fearful soil of past discord" (Rotberg 1999, 4), became so "obsessed with the past that [it has] allowed it to cloud the present and the future" (De Silva 2011, 144). Although the conflict was mostly between majority Sinhalese and minority Tamils, driven by Sinhalese assertions of a single national ethno-religious identity and Tamil demands for an independent homeland or federal state, there were other substantial issues such as religion, language, political recognition, human rights, international relationships (especially with India), relationships with the overseas Tamil diaspora, and the situation of the smaller Muslim minority.

4. 3. 1 Background: Ethnicity and Religion

Ethnicity is a social construct with attributes such as territory, language, culture and self-awareness, but in Sri Lanka it has been used as a physical marker to bifurcate a country in a way which ignores the complexity of the construct (Indrapala 2011). Ethnic identities are strongly held in Sri Lanka. "Every permanent inhabitant belongs to one and only one of the ethnic compartments into which the population is divided" (Kearney 2011, 491). Although language is an obvious separator, it is almost "a sense of quasi-racial or quasi-species cleavage, overarching even the language cleavage" which has come to define the separation (491).

Markers of religious and ethnic identity are prominent throughout Sri Lanka. Statues of the Buddha are ubiquitous and increasingly erected in historically non-Buddhist areas as an official statement of the national Buddhist identity. Street corner statues of Christian saints identify predominantly Catholic neighbourhoods. Temples, kovils, churches and mosques each project their strong presence through distinctive architecture

and within Christianity the sleek modern buildings of the smaller Pentecostal revival churches contrast with the Portuguese-styled facades and statues of Catholic churches.

The ethnic and religious distributions according to the 2012 census are shown below in Table 4-2 and Table 4-3.

Table 4-2: Ethnic Distribution in Sri Lanka[51]

Ethnicity	*Origin [these descriptions are not in the census]*	*Number*	*Percent*
Sinhalese	Migrations from Orissa and Bengal in Eastern India.	15,173,820	74.9%
Sri Lanka Tamil	Tamil Nadu in Southern India.	2,270,924	11.2%
Indian Tamil	Tamil Nadu in Southern India, brought by British in the 19th century as plantation workers.	842,323	4.2%
Sri Lanka Moor	Muslims of Arab and Indo-Arab origin.	1,869,820	9.2%
Burgher	Descendants of Portuguese and Dutch colonisers.	37,061	0.2%
Malay	Descendants of Javanese mercenaries who accompanied the Dutch colonisers to Sri Lanka in the 17th C.	40,189	0.2%
Other		29,586	0.2%
TOTAL		20,263,723	100%

Table 4-3: Religious Distribution in Sri Lanka[52]

Religion	*Number*	*Percent*
Buddhist	14,222,844	70.2%
Hindu	2,554,606	12.6%
Islam	1,967,227	9.7%
Roman Catholic	1,237,038	6.1%
Other Christian	272,568	1.3%
Other	9,440	<0.1%
TOTAL	20,263,723	100%

51. Source: Sri Lanka Department of Census and Statistics (2012e).
52. Source: Sri Lanka Department of Census and Statistics (2012e).

The intense geographical divisions of both ethnicity and religion are shown in Figure 4-3 (p. 84) and Figure 4-4 (p. 85). These maps, based on the 2012 national census,[53] show the strong concentration of Tamils in the North, and to a less extent in the East, as well as the sizeable population of Moors in the East. Corresponding populations of Hindus and Muslims can be seen in these areas, and the concentration of Catholics in Colombo, the North Western Province and the Northern Province.

The census figures do not cross-tabulate ethnicity with religion but a 2004 study (based on the 1981 census) estimates that approximately 90% of Sinhalese are Buddhists, and 90% of Tamils are Hindu (the remainder of both is mostly Christian). The Moors and Malays are Muslims, the Burghers almost entirely Christian (DeVotta 2004, 25).

Hinduism is almost totally identified with Tamil identity and Buddhism with Sinhalese identity. These identifications do not apply in reverse and the approximately 7% of the population who are Christian are spread across both ethnicities. To some extent these Christian ethnicities are geographically separated, but in cosmopolitan Colombo and some other places mixed together. The Catholic religious congregations are varied in their ethnicity. Some have always been largely mono-ethnic, others bi- or multi-ethnic. Some started as mixed but later separated.[54]

Spencer et al. (2015), after fieldwork in some of the most religiously mixed areas of the East, observed the resilience of religious institutions there. Prolonged conflict has not weakened them. Religion has provided "retreat and consolation" and also "institutions and leaders which have played an important role in local attempts to mediate between warring parties" as well as providing an "alternative space for public action" (19), despite the ambiguity of leaders and institutions being potential sources of conflict.

53. Further detailed maps of the breakdown by district show increasingly finer divisions between areas of ethnic and religious concentration (Sri Lanka Department of Census and Statistics 2012c, d).
54. Two of the Franciscan congregations studied had originally been a single locally founded congregation, but were later split into two on ethnic lines. Each half has now found membership in other Franciscan congregations, the Tamil part in an Indian-based one and the Sinhalese one in a more international congregation.

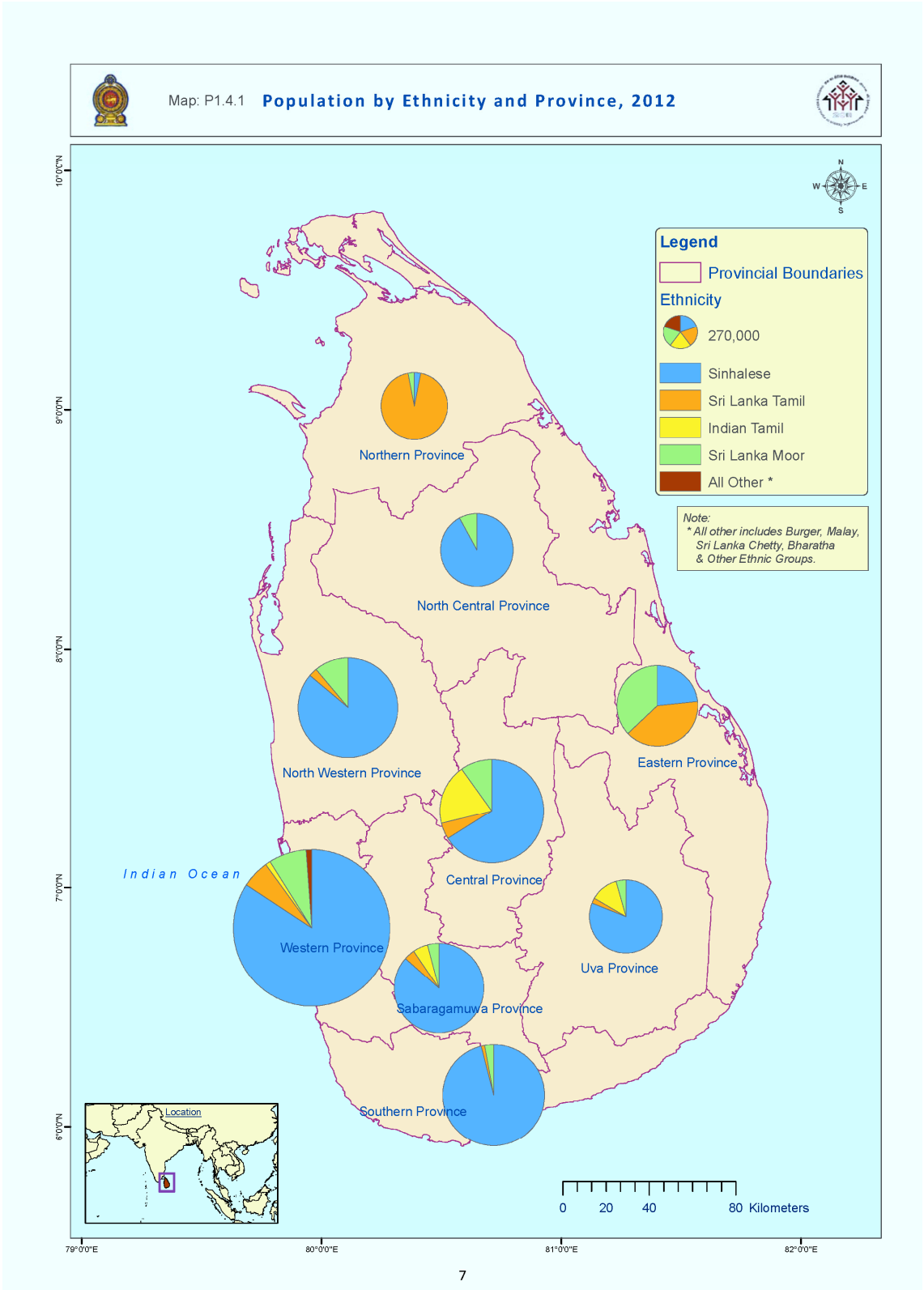

Figure 4-3: Population by Ethnicity and Province[55]

55. Source: Sri Lanka Department of Census and Statistics (2012a).

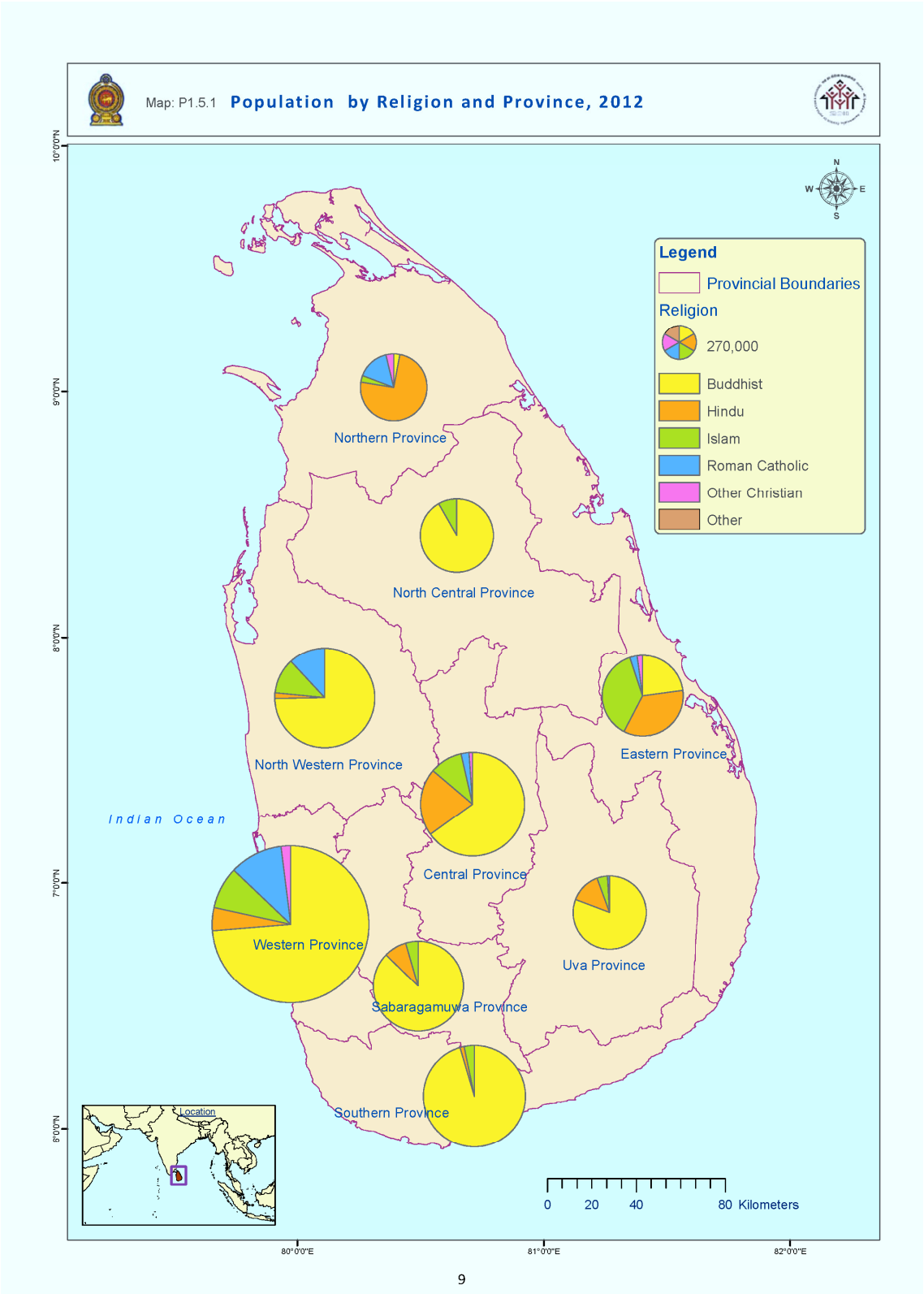

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***Figure 4-4: Population by Religion and Province*[56]**

56. Source: Sri Lanka Department of Census and Statistics (2012b).

The ethnic division within the Catholic Church is an example of such ambiguity. The division is a potential barrier to internal relations but also a potential bridge in relationships outside the Church. Interviewed on the eve of the 2015 papal visit to Sri Lanka, Jehan Perera, executive director of the Colombo-based National Peace Council, when asked how the Catholic minority could help with reconciliation efforts, replied that the nearly equal numbers of Catholic Tamils and Catholic Sinhalese meant that "they can play the role of bridge builders as they share a common religion and so have a better opportunity to engage with one another." Catholics are in a number of key positions in society, including military, judiciary and political and "have stood on different sides of the conflict, and some have even led the war effort on either side" (Domínguez 2015).

4. 3. 2 Background: Colonisation

Sri Lanka experienced three waves of colonisation beginning with the Portuguese in the early 16th century, then the Dutch from the mid-17th century, and finally the British from 1802 to 1948 (Wickramasinghe 2006, ch. 1). The civil conflict rose out of the struggle to form a nation state after British rule ended, but causes reach back further, through the struggles for nationalism in the early 20th century, to the effects of centuries of colonial rule.

The Portuguese were concerned to control sea routes for trade (Camps 2000) and gradually took control of the coastal areas, but not the mountainous inland areas. Under the patronage rights conceded by the pope to Portugal, "spiritual conquest and worldly conquest went hand in hand" (18). They brought with them missionaries, firstly Franciscans in 1543, who made a number of converts and established churches (Da Silva Cosme 1983). Portugal believed itself to be a nation chosen by God and commissioned by the papacy for carrying out God's work and consequently had a strong emphasis on conversion to Christianity and a programme of destroying signs of Buddhism and Hinduism.[57] Portuguese colonisation resulted in the systematic destruction of Buddhist and Hindu power, symbols and institutions, and their replacement with Christian equivalents and

57. The memory of this destruction is still alive, for example as shown in art such as the wall painting in Kelaniya Temple, Colombo, depicting Portuguese torching a Buddhist temple.

disturbed the existing social order by bringing new power relations and political and religious systems (Houtart 1974, pt 2, ch 1). The role of the friar missionaries was structurally ambiguous including introduction of Christian and western culture, support of the Portuguese colonisers and troops, and yet also pastoral care, education and advocacy for the Sri Lankan converts who were often ill-treated by the Portuguese (Don Peter 1983, Pieris 1983).

The Dutch overcame the Portuguese in the mid-17th century, took control of the maritime states, forcibly imposed a different Christian system, Calvinism, on the Catholics, destroyed all Portuguese churches and attempted to convert Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims (De Silva 2011, Goonewardena 2011). Their main interest was gaining a trade monopoly, especially in spices, over the whole of Sri Lanka. The local population were effectively bonded labour in this enterprise and did not benefit from the substantial profits reaped by the Dutch. More successful militarily than the Portuguese, the Dutch managed to capture the whole island except for Kandy. The Catholic Church was reintroduced during this period as an underground church, through the initial efforts of Oratorian missionaries from India (Don Peter 1979, 245-246).

The British, concerned for international interests, initially occupied Sri Lanka for strategic purposes from 1795, taking control from the Dutch in 1802, and by capturing Kandy in 1815 effectively ended independence on the island. Their interest in Sri Lanka was more in administering a trading colony and developing plantations (initially coffee and then tea) and the transport for efficient operation of business, rather than of religious conversion, nor did they impose Christianity on the population. However, the 19th century was a time of great Christian missionary vigour and Sri Lanka was the site of many active missions and a serious distortion developed in relation to Buddhism. The Kandyan convention of 1815 promised state support for Buddhism, but this was strongly objected to by the missionaries and others and withdrawn in the 1840s, effectively disestablishing Buddhism. Although the British gradually gave back concessions to Buddhism it was not restored as the state religion.[58]

58. De Silva (2011, 143) observes that "Sri Lankan politicians have eagerly adopted and elaborated upon a similar formula, and even embodied it in the constitutions of 1972 and 1978 as a sort of compensation for the refusal to elevate Buddhism to the position of the state religion, when pressure for the restoration of the link between Buddhism and the state continued after Sri Lanka achieved independence in 1948. They were unaware of the British colonial origins of this formula."

The British shifted the ethnic balance by importing a large number of South Indian Tamils as indentured labour for the hill country plantations. English became the lingua franca for business and colonial administration. The development of efficient agriculture provided economic benefits, but also disrupted relations within villages, creating an English-speaking elite of local landowners.

The colonial period created other distortions, which came to drive part of the struggle of decolonisation. Christian converts were privileged, while Buddhists and also Hindus and Muslims were restricted, if not penalised. Previous religious tolerance was replaced with a "zealotry and harsh intolerance" and the "suppression of other faiths" (De Silva 2011, 141).

Christianity in Sri Lanka began as a western import. It came with the colonisers and was linked with western ways of doing things. Sri Lankan Christians adopted western (and Christian) names, were educated in western languages, and the upper and middle classes achieved a privileged social position under the colonial power.[59] According to Caspersz the church's concern for maintaining its own identity was such that it made "no significant effort" to resolve the contradictions of caste, class or urban-rural division. Rural clergy "did not see their role as a socially catalytic one, nor did the chaplains on the estates do anything significant to secure conditions of elementary humanity for the estate labor"[60] (Caspersz 1974, 108).

Under the British, the number of Christians never exceeded ten percent of the population, yet that small Christian minority represented a substantial part of the island's elite and wealth (De Silva 2011, 143). Another effect of colonisation was that the idea of nation-state held by the coloniser left its footprint after the coloniser departed. Each of Sri Lanka's colonisers, to some extent, held an exceptionalist view of itself as chosen by God for its role, and the newly independent Sri Lanka was left with "the model of the monarchical nation-state with a theological justification of the sovereignty of the monarch" (Fernando [2013], 71). Fernando argues that this understanding, and the British construction of a unitary political structure, left post-colonial Sri Lanka trying to create an exceptionalist and unitary Buddhist state to fill the vacuum left by the departure of British rule

59. Lower class Christians were a majority and less westernised, but the minority of upper class Christians was a dominant force (Caspersz 1974).
60. An exception was the Social Justice Movement, started in the late 1930s (Caspersz 1974, 108).

(Fernando [2013], pt 3). With this outlook, built on the special connection between Buddhism and the Sinhalese people, it is not surprising that the Sinhalese, who "have sometimes thought of themselves as a chosen people with a providential mission," believe themselves to be entitled to supremacy: cultural, linguistic and political (Little 1999, 43).

4. 3. 3 Struggle in the Independent State

With a few exceptions there was little ethnic conflict during the colonial period. However, tension increased in the final years of British rule. Tamils, through hard work and favoured access to colonial-run schools, held a disproportionate share of civil service and professional positions. This position was challenged by the Sinhalese majority in the struggle for access to resources and representation in the soon to be formed independent government.

These tensions broke out into various forms of violence in the years following independence:

> The working class turmoils in 1953 and 1981, the ethnic violence in 1956, 1958, 1977, 1979, and 1983, political assassinations in 1959 and 1975, coups d'état in 1962 and 1966, student violence in 1965, 1969, and 1976, post-election violence in 1965, 1970 and 1977, left-wing insurrections in 1971 and 1987-89, and the ongoing separatist or secessionist insurrection from the mid-1970s (Samaranayake 1999, 110).

Towards the end of the British colonial period the Buddhist revival movement worked to reclaim a vigorous expression of Buddhism.[61] This included redefining the role of the monk to include political activism,[62] which led to an increasing level of political involvement such as the formation of the monk-led Jathika Hela Urumaya (National Heritage Party) in 2004 (Deegalle 2011).

In the British colony, the minority Tamils generally had a favoured position (being for example well represented in the civil service and universities). However, with

61. Dubbed by Obeysekere as "Protestant Buddhism" since it was *protest* against the British generally, and Protestant Christian missionaries specifically, and also because it adopted some of the methods of Protestant Christianity (Gombrich and Obeyesekere 1988, ch. 6, see also Harris 2006).
62. Expressed in 1946 when Walpola Rahula and other monks proposed in what became a charter for politically active monks, the "Declaration of the Vidyalankara Pirivena," that as the flourishing of the Sinhala nation was equivalent to the flourishing of Buddhism "it is nothing but fitting for *bhikkhus* [monks] to identify themselves with activities conducive to the welfare of our people—whether these activities be labeled politics or not—as long as they do not constitute an impediment to the religious life of a *bhikkhu*" (Rahula 2011, 381).

growing Sinhalese nationalism, some Tamils correspondingly developed a militancy which moved to defensive nationalism, such as the Jaffna Tamil boycott of the 1931 general elections (Russell 2011, Wilson 2011a, b). Although from an insular perspective Tamils were a minority, from a wider geographic view, with 55 million Tamils across the Palk Strait in Tamil Nadu, they considerably outnumbered the Sinhalese.

Perhaps the single most alienating factor for Tamils was the Official Language Act passed in 1956 which declared Sinhala (instead of English) the official language of Sri Lanka. This closed the civil service to non-Sinhala speaking Tamils and restricted the access of Tamils to higher education and many other benefits. The effect was felt by all Tamils, since all now had to do business with a civil service which no longer spoke their own language. More deeply than that, they felt that their cultural heritage was being erased. Tamil protests resulted in some home-rule measures offered to Tamils in the Northern and Eastern provinces but Buddhist clergy objections caused widespread race riots (Rotberg 1999, 6-7).

Tamils were not united in a single response to the Sinhala-only legislation. The All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC) party, founded in 1944, campaigned for national Tamil rights, and for all minorities to hold a guaranteed 50% of parliamentary representation. It joined a coalition with the right-leaning United National Party (UNP) after the 1947 general election. This resulted in approximately half of the party members who favoured a federalist solution leaving to form the Federal Party (FP) in 1949. As equal access to political power and economic resources in a united Sri Lanka became increasingly unlikely, federalism became the dominant Tamil aim, while at the same time the majority Sinhalese government enacted pro-Sinhalese policies which further disenfranchised Tamils, such as the special protection given to Buddhists under the 1972 constitution and the pro-Sinhalese university admission reforms (Höglund and Orjuela 2011, 23-24). The result was a disaffected and relatively deprived younger Tamil generation (Pfaffenberger 1995).

In 1976 the main Tamil parties combined as the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and demanded an independent "secular, socialist state of Tamil Eelam." They fought the 1977 elections which resulted in the TULF becoming the main opposition party. It was unable, however, to gain any significant political concessions, and a number of

younger militant Tamils felt that participation in parliamentary processes was not an effective way of gaining the regional autonomy they longed for. They increasingly turned to violent protest and assassination. Sinhalese mobs responded with anti-Tamil rioting which the government countered with oppressive security measures. Disaffected organisations of young militant Tamils formed several organisations, one of the first being the Tamil New Tigers (TNT) founded by the 17-year-old Velupillai Prabhakaran in 1972. Prabhakaran in 1976 then formed and became leader of the guerrilla successor of the TNT, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) (Biswas 2006, 52). LTTE was "action-oriented rather than theoretical-oriented" (Samaranayake 1999, 114) with an ideology in which "nationalism came first and the Marxism second" (Pfaffenberger 1995, 129). The LTTE gradually eliminated rival guerrilla groups and took command of the Jaffna Peninsula, deriving its strategy of political violence first from the success of the left wing Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna which used similar tactics,[63] and second from seeing the importance of Indian intervention in the birth of Bangladesh (Samaranayake 1999, 116).

There is not the space in this brief account to discuss the role of the Muslim minority, made up as it is of two different groups, with particular geographic concentrations throughout the land. Important contributors to the Sri Lankan economy through their role as traders, they have been the victims of much discrimination from the colonial period onwards, often being a weaker third party trapped between two belligerents.

4. 3. 4 Trajectory of the Conflict and Attempts at Peacemaking

Eelam War 1 (1983-1987)

The period of armed conflict began out of ethnic grievances, but soon "moved far from the causes that originally produced it," and was carried forward by the self-sustaining energy of its own consequences (Uyangoda 1999, 158). Although there had been a lower level of violence previously, what is known as Eelam War I began in 1983 with an LTTE attack on a Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) army patrol in Jaffna. This resulted in anti-Tamil riots in the south, and then reprisal attacks on Sinhalese living in the North and East. The general anti-Tamil violence created mass movements of Tamil refugees,

63. Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) or People's Liberation Front was the Marxist-Leninist communist party behind the 1971 uprising and the insurgency of 1987-1989 (Samaranayake 1999).

both internal and external, of whom the latter created a sizeable diaspora which became an efficient source of funds and other support for the LTTE (Biswas 2006, 52).

External intervention came from India, who persuaded Sri Lankan President Jayewardene and separatist Tamil groups to take part in Indian-mediated peace talks in Bhutan in 1985. These talks were unsuccessful. Further talks between the Indian and Sri Lankan governments resulted in the peace accord of July 29, 1987 under which Sri Lankan troops withdrew from the North and East and an Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) was sent to monitor the decommissioning of arms in those regions, with the hope of working towards the unification of the North and East as an autonomous Tamil province in a united Sri Lanka (Pfaffenberger 1995, Samaranayake 1999, Biswas 2006).

The IPKF was initially a security guarantor, yet its presence was opposed by both Tamil and Sinhala nationalists as a violation of sovereignty. Riots broke out in Colombo and the JVP resurged in militant action in the south. By October 1987 allegations of IPKF brutality against Tamils had destroyed the relationship between the IPKF and LTTE. The IPKF was now hated by both sides and it left Sri Lanka in 1990. The external intervention was a disaster, not only for what it failed to achieve, but for the hardening of independent nationalist attitudes it caused in both LTTE and GoSL.

Eelam War II (1990-1994)

This phase saw a number of LTTE attacks on police and military targets and political assassinations. The LTTE became more strongly entrenched as the de facto government of the North and East. A new president, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, was elected in 1994 on the peace platform of the People's Alliance (PA). She declared a unilateral ceasefire and initiated peace talks with the LTTE in an attempt to end the military stalemate. Unfortunately she lacked the political capital to be able to implement major reforms; her own party lacked unity in support of surrendering political power to Tamils, and a number of Buddhist monks strongly opposed the peace proposals (Biswas 2006). These talks failed, and after a few months armed violence had increased again with an LTTE suicide squad attack on a GoSL naval boat.

Eelam War III (1995-2002)

In this phase there was more intense fighting in the East and North, as well as terrorist activity elsewhere. The government forces managed to drive the LTTE into the

jungle areas of the Vanni[64] (Rotberg 1999, 7-10, Samaranayake 1999, 116-117).

From 1998 there appeared to be greater willingness from both sides for dialogue. Anton Balasingham[65] had been chief strategist and negotiator for the LTTE from the 1985 peace talks onwards and later in 1998 asked Norway[66] to facilitate peace talks. The GoSL participation in these talks was confirmed in May 1999 when President Kumaratunga of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) formally invited Norway to initiate dialogue with the LTTE. Norway was acceptable to the LTTE as a state actor and hence potentially more powerful than an informal mediator or NGO, but to the Kumaratunga administration it was "a low-profile third party at a time when the government feels it has the upper hand (militarily) and concrete plans for negotiations (the devolution package)" (Sørbø et al. 2011, 39-31). Later in 2000 Kumaratunga's party lost its majority to Ranil Wickremasinghe and the UNP. Without support from the UNP the devolution proposal was lost (Sørbø et al. 2011, 32) and Sinhala nationalist feeling turned against the peace talks although some progress was made on humanitarian support. There were fundamental differences in each party's goals; the LTTE insisted on being de-proscribed by the GoSL and a ceasefire declared before starting talks, while the GoSL position was that these measures would be conditional on progress during talks and that a unitary state be maintained within which there could be some degree of devolution of the North and East. Violence continued on both sides and it became obvious that Norway lacked the leverage to achieve much on its own so it asked for help from India and the US. Both sides, GoSL and LTTE, had serious disagreements with the Norwegian team which entered Sri Lanka "as a lightweight mediator walking a thin tightrope, buffeted by strong winds from dif-

64. The Vanni denotes the northern territories of Mannar, Mullaitivu and Vavuniya districts and most of Kilinochchi district. It was mostly under LTTE control and the site of much of the intense warfare in the months leading to May 2009.
65. Born in Batticaloa in 1938, he died in 2006 of natural causes. Balasingham was a skilled negotiator and confidante of Prabhakaran. He represented the LTTE at all peace talks until his death.
66. Norway's role had already begun in an exploratory way in 1991, building on its long tradition of peace and reconciliation initiatives as a form of peace diplomacy and as part of its international self-image. Sørbø et al. (2011, 14) detail four specific characteristics of the Norwegian "policy of engagement" as (1) it was a small wealthy country, engaged substantially in development programmes and humanitarian aid; with few strategic interests it was likely to be perceived as legitimate and credible and without self-interest; (2) its policy of engagement included ready access to a range of aid funds able to be targeted flexibly and rapidly deployed; (3) it was committed to look beyond short-term failures for long-term solutions; (4) it operated a facilitative model of mediation as "peacehelper," usually working alongside other third-party actors. See also Höglund and Svensson (2009) for a discussion of the theoretical aspects of Norway's role as mediator.

ferent sides" (Sørbø et al. 2011, 32). These difficulties included ongoing hostilities, political rivalry in Colombo, lack of widespread support for the devolution package, and Norway being side-lined by both parties. There was contention about the composition of the Norwegian team, each side's position was deeply entrenched, international support was tentative and there was no equal power balance between the GoSL and the LTTE (Sørbø et al. 2011, 34).

In 2001 President Kumaratunga lost support from her coalition partner, the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC), and a new government was eventually formed in December 2001, although with a very fragile balance of power. Despite these difficulties peace talks were held in Norway in February 2002 and a ceasefire negotiated and signed by the GoSL and LTTE (Sørbø et al. 2011, 34-37). There was quiet optimism "that a political framework for peace that would satisfy the Tamils' quest for national self-determination while preserving the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka was around the corner" (Ganguly 2004, 903). Initial progress was made on the decommissioning of weapons, and opening of transport links while extensive international funding was secured for development projects which it was hoped would bring about a "peace dividend" of economic development and reconstruction sufficient to win the hearts of "ordinary" people over to peace (especially LTTE supporters).[67]

A Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) was formed of a small civilian contingent from the five Nordic countries with a role principally of monitoring the ceasefire and reporting on violations to the relevant party (Höglund 2011).[68] Rounds of talks were held at various locations in Asia and Europe in 2002-2003, but after the third round of talks in Oslo there was anger on both sides about the federal structure being proposed; "rather than a springboard, the Oslo communiqué thus proves to be a bridge too far" (Sørbø et al. 2011,42), and the earlier optimism "lay shattered" (Ganguly 2004, 903).

In an atmosphere of political instability, serious cracks had emerged in the peace process and the LTTE pulled out of talks in 2003. On 4 November of that year President

67. Orjuela (2008b) notes that these good intentions were not completely fulfilled since the aid was substantially politicised and created further division; access to territory and fishing zones in the North and East remained securitised. Villagers however were grateful for the end of warfare, "no reconstruction projects were needed to convince them that they had too much to lose from renewed war" (228).
68. SLMM and generally the whole Norwegian involvement faced serious challenges in managing the asymmetrical relationship between GoSL and LTTE (Höglund and Svensson 2008).

Kumaratunga declared a state of emergency and took control of the ministries of defence, mass media and foreign affairs from Prime Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe. The JVP had by now come to hold a substantial number of seats in parliament, and at the same time a substantial change occurred in Sri Lankan Buddhism with the emergence of a movement for purifying Buddhism from Hindu influences and for "resisting the global Christian hegemony" (Sørbø et al. 2011,48). In 2004 the eastern part of the LTTE split and Karuna Amman, their leader, defected to Colombo.[69] Parliamentary elections strengthened Kumaratunga's position through a fragile alliance with the JVP who were opposed to any accommodation to the LTTE. The Boxing Day tsunami of that year however brought more damage than the war had exacted,[70] and had (potentially) a "game-changing impact on the attitudes of the parties, the political space available to them and their military strength." It interrupted the "war-oriented dynamic" and provided "a temporary suspension of 'normal politics'" as people reached out "across entrenched fault lines" (Sørbø et al. 2011, 52). Although the jointly developed "Post-Tsunami Operational Management Structure" provided some temporary cooperation in distribution of relief and had the potential to help bring about new negotiations, this proved short-lived (Sørbø et al. 2011, 53) and the structure was never adopted. The massive influx of foreign aid created tensions as "political actors and the bureaucracy jockey for control and local and foreign aid agencies fall prey to 'competitive humanitarianism'" (Sørbø et al. 2011, 54). Both sides continued to rearm and ambushes and assassinations resumed. Further political instability in Colombo resulted in the Kumaratunga administration finishing as a lame duck presidency.

On 19 November 2005 Mahinda Rajapaksa, previously opposition leader and prime minister, was narrowly elected president on an SLFP ticket stressing his strong desire for peace, but only on his terms. His election marked a significant shift, and showed

69. Although the peace process focused on GoSL and LTTE as the belligerents, there was also violence outside this primary dyad, such as violence within the LTTE, violence between the LTTE and other Tamil groups, violence between LTTE and Tamil civilians, and political violence generally within Sri Lankan politics (Höglund 2005).

70. "Over 30,000 people dead, several hundred thousand displaced, and massive damage to infrastructure and capital assets (estimated at around US$ 1 billion (4.5 per cent of GDP)) particularly in tourism and fisheries sectors. The medium-term financing needs were estimated to be around US$ 1.5-1.6 billion (7.5 per cent of GDP). It is expected to reduce 2005 GDP by around 0.5 - 1.0%" (Jayasuriya, Steele, and Weerakoon 2005, 2).

support from those aligned with the Buddhist and nationalist revival; "it propagates a strong, protective state, investment in visible infrastructure, and glorifies Sri Lanka's traditions and culture" (Sørbø et al. 2011, 56).[71] Violence again increased in response to his hard line. Talks were held in 2006 in Geneva and Oslo but failed to make any positive change. International opinion increasingly turned against the LTTE; and the GoSL military expanded its capabilities, believing that a military victory against the LTTE was now possible.

Eelam War IV (2006-2009)

Military interventions increased significantly from 2006. Civilians were significantly impacted during this period (e.g. LTTE use of human shields, and the killing of local aid workers of the French NGO, *Action Contre la Faim*, allegedly by GoSL forces). The monitoring force, SLMM, found its ability to work effectively was severely restricted. Despite the worsening situation a second round of talks was held in Oslo in November 2006. Norway's role was virtually reduced to being a potential channel of communication with the LTTE but after Balasingham's death it had no access to higher levels in the North. On 2 January 2008 the GoSL formally terminated the ceasefire agreement and the SLMM withdrew its monitors. Military operations increased against the LTTE, who had by then been branded as terrorists (Sørbø et al. 2011, 60-64).

The GoSL captured Kilinochchi, site of the LTTE administrative headquarters, on 2 January 2009 and rapidly advanced through the Vanni. The LTTE took with them a large number of civilians, adding further to the deterioration of human rights. International pressure was unable to deter the Sri Lankan government from its intensified offensive against the remains of the LTTE. Assistance was focused through the UN (food and medicine), the ICRC (supplying doctors and trying to evacuate citizens), and the US and Norway (keeping diplomatic channels open). Shortly after further military advances, the GoSL declared No-Fire Zones on the LTTE's southern and western defence line. Civilians were unable to escape these zones, the LTTE continued to fire from within them, and the No-Fire Zones were shelled by GoSL forces.

In the final few months of warfare the No-Fire Zones were progressively shrunk and moved eastwards and the expatriate ICRC workers withdrew. Norway and the US

71. See also Wickramasinghe (2009, 1051-1052).

held separate discussions with both sides about the possibility of an LTTE surrender; but this was rejected by LTTE leader Prabhakaran and by the GoSL in Colombo which wanted to totally eliminate the LTTE. The government at this stage formally terminated Norway's assistance and a final period of intense warfare resulted in the death of LTTE's leaders and the end of the LTTE as an organisation in May 2009. The International Crisis Group estimated that 30,000 civilians were killed in this final phase of the conflict (International Crisis Group 2010, Sørbø et al. 2011, 64-68).

Post War

Although there has been a gradual and limited restoration of daily life the wounds are deep, and the strong-arm economic and political policies of the Rajapaksa government came to be increasingly unpopular not only in the Tamil areas. Rajapaksa refused to allow any independent investigation of human rights abuses alleged to be committed in the final period of the civil war (De Mel, Samuel, and Soysa 2012, 102-104) and was ousted from government by Maithripala Sirisena in a democratic election held January 2015.

Norway's intervention was, like India's previously, only partly successful in immediate results, and a failure in the longer term. Höglund and Svensson (2011) argue that it failed because of its "underlying assumption" that "the responsibility for peace has to be in the hands of the primary parties in the conflict," something they call the peace ownership approach which assumes that the parties negotiating are "democratic and pluralistic, relatively coherent and unified, and ready to take risks for the sake of peace" (63-64). Norway's approach was, in Norway's view, bottom-up and participant driven, but by handing control to the primary participants it became top down, exclusionary and elite-driven. "Only those with the arms were allowed to talk peace" (68). It excluded representatives of non-LTTE Tamil groups, Muslims, as well as strongly nationalist Sinhalese parties, and "while Norway was constantly approached by civil society organisations, these were not formally incorporated into the peace process" (68-69). Norway, at the request of the two Sri Lankan parties, sought to build up international participation (principally US, EU, Japan) which would benefit the interests of all parties, but this participation remained primarily at an elite level and declined as the LTTE was declared to be a terrorist organisation (firstly by Canada and the EU in 2006, and then others). International aid and development NGOs were involved as part of this internationalisation, but greater

room for civil society peace initiatives could have nurtured "a more democratic political culture and more responsible political actors" (75).[72]

4. 3. 5 Consequences of the War

More than twenty five years of civil war from 1983 to 2009, ending not in a peace settlement but in the military defeat of one party which by then had been labelled as terrorist, have caused a range of consequences across the nation.[73] The underlying causes of the conflict have only begun to be addressed, and particularly as the violence was not clear cut between two well defined groups of belligerents these consequences are complex.[74] Although the civilian population most affected by direct military action and damage to infrastructure is in the North and to an extent in the East, the effects have been felt nationally and "all communities have a repository of remembered violence" (Anonymous 2011, 36). Various official Inquiries into acts of violence have helped to some extent but without a strong transitional justice environment have largely failed to address the root structural issues of the violence (Anonymous 2011, 37-46). These economic and humanitarian consequences of the war were compounded by the deadly tsunami of 2004. Although in a sense the war has been "won," it cannot yet be said that peace has been gained.

The consequences of the war are manifold.

Women have suffered in a variety of ways. They were extensively recruited by the LTTE as combatants and suicide bombers, thereby disrupting traditional roles of Tamil women. Women were also subjected to gendered violence and harassment in many aspects of daily life, such as at military check points (whether by Sri Lankan troops, the LTTE or paramilitaries) or in having to deal with militarised local government functions.

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72. See also Höglund and Svensson (2009). The two-party approach stressed efficiency and flexibility over inclusivity, but arguably reduced the legitimacy of the process.
73. Between 1983 and 2009 an estimated 60,000 people were killed in GoSL / Eelam conflict and hundreds of thousands internally displaced, although numbers of battle-related deaths are disputed (Uppsala University. Department of Peace and Conflict Research 1984-2009). Other estimates are of 90,000 lives lost between 1971 and 1994 (Samaranayake 1999, 118-119). The International Crisis Group estimate is that 30,000 civilians were killed in the final phase of the conflict (International Crisis Group 2010, Sørbø et al. 2011, 64-68).
74. There was significant violence between rival Tamil groups until power was held conclusively by the LTTE. Another form of violence was that against the Muslim minority, such as the LTTE ethnic cleansing of Muslims from Jaffna in 1990 (McGilvray and Raheem 2011, De Mel, Samuel, and Soysa 2012, 100). The JVP insurrections of 1971 and 1989-90 also claimed a number of lives.

The economic disruption caused by the war meant that for many mothers the only way of survival was for their sons and husbands to become combatants. The result today is a large number of war-widows (an estimated 89,000) and households headed by women (De Mel, Samuel, and Soysa 2012, 100).

Children have been directly affected. Education has been disrupted and many children directly traumatised by the violence they have witnessed or through the loss of parents. An estimated 1.8 million landmines laid in the North and East have injured or killed children, and the LTTE recruited child soldiers (an estimated 6000 between 2002 and 2007) and increasingly so in the final years of the conflict (Anonymous 2011, 35, De Mel, Samuel, and Soysa 2012, 101).

Economic output has declined. Agricultural production in the North and East declined 10.3% when the final period of the war began in 2006. This was caused by mined paddy fields and the overall situation. Access to many fishing zones was blocked by military—the 2007 catch in the North was only 69% of the 2004 catch (101). This decline continues the trend of the first 16 or so years of the war which resulted in "a reduced standard of living, reduced levels of foreign investment, falls in tourist numbers and expenditures, drastic slippages in the production of food and export crops in the North and East, declining fish catches, and the loss of 2 or 3 percentage points of GDP growth for a decade" (Rotberg 1999, 10).

Public infrastructure has been damaged. Warfare or bombing extensively destroyed not only roads and other transport services, but also schools and public health services. This damage was compounded by the tsunami. Budget allocations to the military have reduced funding available for education or healthcare. Defence expenditure was estimated at 10.3% of total public expenditure in 2009 against an estimated 2.8% for education and 3.4% for healthcare and nutrition (De Mel, Samuel, and Soysa 2012, 101).

Militarisation of society is extensive. Although the government was democratically elected, the military took over many functions, particularly at a local level in the war-affected areas, thereby impacting on civilian life. This militarisation has led to a securitisation affecting society in many ways—a "securitisation of fear" (Hyndman 2007). News is controlled and journalists have been abducted. People have become fearful of

speaking out in public.[75] Violence has become normalised in many ways such as "habitual aggression on roads, in commercial advertisements, TV soap operas, the increase of petty crime commensurate with the circulation of small arms, and the use of violence in dispute settlement" (De Mel, Samuel, and Soysa 2012, 101-102).[76]

Psychological effects are long lasting, especially among those who were in the border areas and who witnessed extreme violence such as shelling of civilians, machete attacks and rape. They have also experienced loss of property, income and many of the other things which contribute to long-term wellbeing. De Mel et al refer to Somasundaram (2004) who "found that after 20 years of war in the Jaffna peninsula … among Tamils, 50% reported death of a friend/relative, 46% loss of property, 39% injury to friend/relative, 37% experienced bombing, shelling, or gunfire, and 26% witnessed violence as forms of direct stress" (De Mel, Samuel, and Soysa 2012, 111).[77] Such trauma was compounded by the 2004 tsunami which caused extensive destruction in coastal areas (Jayatilaka 2011, Schrijvers 2011).

The ending of the war by military victory rather than peace settlement has caused ongoing distortions in the fabric of society. Then-president, Mahinda Rajapaksa, built a personality cult based on his role as national saviour[78] and established an executive presidency, side-lining many established Sri Lankan democratic institutions. His attempt to remove minority identity (and replace it with a patriotic/unpatriotic dualism) further marginalised not only the minority ethnicities but also the civil society groups who raised difficult issues such as human rights (Wickramasinghe 2009, Höglund and Orjuela 2011).

There was extensive overseas investment in a government-led programme of massive infrastructure projects, but this was been criticised for not being of much direct benefit to people in former war zones (Höglund and Orjuela 2011). For example, although the rebuilt roads and bridges permitted farmers to sell produce in Colombo, these farmers

75. Orjuela (2008a) draws attention to the weakening of civil society through the fear of oppression or being monitored which considerably deters any active voice of public protest.
76. See also Höglund and Orjuela (2011).
77. See also Thaheer et al. (2013).
78. Saunders (2011) writing at the time of the "victory" celebrations of May 2009, describes the billboards and public sentiment of Colombo Sinhalese as acclaiming Rajapaksa as religious king in the line of the ancient Sinhalese kings (see also Wickramasinghe (2009)).

were unable to compete with cheaper goods being transported from Colombo in the opposite direction, not only depriving them of potential sales in Colombo but also of local sales (Herath, Silva, and International Centre for Ethnic Studies 2012).

The end of the war was framed as the Sinhalese overcoming of a Tamil terrorist menace and the ensuing policy of Sinhalisation has created a contested Tamil identity. This policy has resulted in the settlement of Sinhalese in former Tamil areas and the establishment of Buddhist identity in places previously without it. The former LTTE graves which glorified the fallen Tamil soldiers in heroic and religious terms (Schontal 2011) have been destroyed; fieldwork participants in the North stated that military opposition prevented any form of public memorial rite for the departed. Unmarked mass graves contain the bodies of unknown victims, and without a body or the knowledge of where it is, survivors cannot easily grieve or face a future (Perera 1995, ch. 1. "Societies of Terror: The Absence of a Body and the Problems of Mourning and Coping"). Participants in the North also noted the increased frequency of the *thuukkukkaavadi* ritual in which Tamil men are suspended by body piercing from a gantry on a cart driven on the roads. One participant, a medical professional who treated the resulting wounds, stated that the ritual was undertaken in response to a vow to be paid if a family member safely escaped overseas. The ritual has been interpreted as a response, both cathartic and assertive, "to cope with some of the suffering and loss through familiar but redefined, embodied and ritualised performative acts." Such rites give "strength" and also "protection against future uncertainties" (Derges 2013, 178).

4. 3. 6 The Role of NGOs and Civil Society

NGOs, "nongovernmental organisations," have been defined in various ways. Their general characteristic is that they are not part of a government, nor are they for-profit businesses, although they may receive funding from these. They are usually founded by "ordinary citizens," and oriented to some particular activity, such as relief, humanitarian, or human rights work, and may operate locally, nationally, or internationally.

The concept of civil society has attracted much attention from academics and policy-makers. One understanding of it places it in "the fact that people meet, organise and act independently of the state and outside kinship and family ties." It is not an actor

or organisation, but "a space or societal sector" of voluntary organisation formed to foster particular values (Orjuela 2005, 121), or similarly "an arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values" (Walton and Saravanamuttu 2011, 184). Thus, the organisations which function in civil society include NGOs, religious groups, trade unions and the media.

There have been many NGOs in Sri Lanka, especially from the 1980s, principally concerned with humanitarian relief and development, reconstruction or peacebuilding, and a smaller number with human rights or political advocacy.[79] In a civil war the ways in which civil society actors can mobilise and organise their activities are severely restricted since the space in which they operate includes not only the state but internal forces challenging the state. In Sri Lanka civil society itself was substantially split along ethnic lines, with a number of NGOs serving only their own particular interest groups and consequently of weakened effectiveness (Orjuela 2008a, 232, Brewer 2010, 52-53).

Religious organisations, such as the Franciscan communities of this study, although not NGOs as such, can operate programmes in ways similar to NGOs, and function as part of civil society. Therefore, an overview of NGOs and civil society in Sri Lanka can provide some insights into how Franciscans can engage as active peacemakers.

The first generation of NGOs, many pre-conflict, were "from a church-based, welfare and charity background," staffed mostly by retired civil servants and with a "strong service ethic." The second generation, from the early 1990s when the conflict intensified, were foreign-funded, mostly staffed by careerist technocrats, with a predominant "contractor ethic." An emergent third generation, working in the "uncleared" areas[80] was tentatively identified in 1999. These were focused on work such as "community empowerment, leadership development and institution-building" (Goodhand and Lewer 1999, 43).

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79. The GoSL National Secretariat for Non Governmental Organizations (operating under the Ministry of Defence) listed 1439 registered NGOs in Sri Lanka as at June 2015 ranging from large NGOs to very small local NGOs (Sri Lanka National Secretariat for Non Governmental Organizations). A sample of the many individuals, NGOs and INGOs who were active at various stages includes the Quakers Adam Curle (Francis 2006) and Joseph Elder (Princen 1994) and the INGOs International Alert, active in Sri Lanka since 1989 and with an in-country office from 2003 (International Alert 2015), the Berghof Foundation Resource Network for Conflict Studies and Transformation in Sri Lanka, active 2001-2008 (Berghof Foundation).
80. "Cleared" and "Uncleared" were terms used by the GoSL to refer to areas respectively under GoSL or LTTE control.

The second generation included international NGOs working in the East (such as Save the Children Fund, Oxfam and the International Committee of the Red Cross) which had mostly started as relief agencies in the North and East. Some of these had changed their mission to include rehabilitation and development activities. In the late 1990s few, however, were working in protection and human rights, and even fewer in conflict resolution and peace-building (Goodhand and Lewer 1999, 74).[81]

Goodhand and Lewer's assessment in 1999 after fieldwork in Sri Lanka was that NGOs did not have much impact on local conflict, and that they lacked much impact on social capital, often working against existing social structures. "NGOs should forget claims about peace-building (often foisted on them by donors) … Rather than attempting social engineering, many NGOs argue that they should stick to their mandate of providing relief and alleviating suffering" (Goodhand and Lewer 1999, 80). The factors relating to this limited impact were various: limited space for "innovative and creative programming," a lack of diplomatic weight and hence little ability to reduce top-down violence, short-term contact at the local level, a mixed reputation in villages and a perception as being distant donors of largesse, as well as a lack of contextual analysis. Although NGOs which had built up long-term relationships were appreciated, a lack of "rigorous contextual analysis" led to "hearts without minds" and an "anarchy of good intentions" in which "programmes are based on the need to do good rather than on hard-headed analysis of the situation and the factors causing underlying vulnerability" (Goodhand and Lewer 1999, 81). Added to this was the "receiving mentality" reinforced by NGO distribution of overseas aid (Orjuela 2003, 198-199).

Despite these factors Goodhand and Lewer noted the potential of NGOs as "peace entrepreneurs" to help turn around attitudes through their work at the margins, from where important changes can come. They can "seek to diffuse ideas and generate social energy that transforms social structures and social relations so that the likelihood of peaceableness is increased" (Goodhand and Lewer 1999, 82).

Civil society involvement in peacemaking has been increasingly studied in recent years and is potentially a way in which popular support for peace can be mobilised

81. Quaker Peace and Service was the only international agency working in the East in that field.

(Lederach 1977, Rupesinghe 1998). Despite the difficulties of ethnic division, civil society actors worked for peace from the 1970s, and the election of President Kumaratunga in November 1994 on a peace platform notably brought large numbers of activists and representatives of many NGOs together for peace rallies in Colombo and other cities (Wickramasinghe 2001, 36). In February 1995 the National Peace Council of Sri Lanka was inaugurated as an umbrella group for a number of civil society peace organisations.[82] Despite all these activities there was no mass movement for peace (Orjuela 2005, 129), nor substantial critical engagement with the "power structures and ideological formations" that sustained the conflict (Keenan 2007, 90). Walton and Saravanamuttu (2011) argue that this "collective timidity" was the result of two sets of factors: peace groups in civil society were weakened by the success of patriotic nationalist organisations, and the approaches of donors had encouraged a technicalised rather than politicised role for civil society actors. Orjuela notes that few people were mobilised by rallies, workshops and seminars; since most were more concerned with daily survival, there was a feeling of "grass-root powerlessness," and in an ethnically polarised society they were split by different nationalisms, and reluctant to show support for peace since it could be seen as selling out to the other side (Orjuela 2003, 200, 2005).

The 2002 ceasefire brought some optimism, and civil society organisations found a "low-key, supportive role" in the government-led peace process (Orjuela 2003, 200) along with greatly increased donor support for peacebuilding on a liberal peacebuilding model (Walton and Saravanamuttu 2011). Keenan (2007) and Walton and Saravanamuttu (2011) observed that the role of most NGOs during this period was principally that of supporting the Track One process being engaged in by the GoSL and LTTE, rather than criticising either of these parties or articulating an independent agenda. Keenan also noted that the strong funding for peacebuilding or reconciliation work took away funds from programmes for human rights (Keenan 2007, 100-101).

The December 2004 tsunami resulted in many peace organisations shifting or broadening their core work to include humanitarian relief or reconstruction; the sudden

82. Subsequently it functioned more as an NGO with the mission "to work in partnership with different target groups with an aim to educate, mobilize and advocate the building of a rights conscious society of citizens that work towards a political solution to the ethnic conflict, reconciliation and equal opportunities for all" (National Peace Council [of Sri Lanka] 2008). The [Catholic] Social and Economic and Development Centre and [ecumenical] National Council of Churches were prominent in its establishment (Spencer et al. 2015, 121).

influx of international NGOs created an "unruly aid environment that encouraged short-termism and lower standards of implementation and transparency," and led nationalist parties to question the role of foreign-funded NGOs in Sri Lanka (Walton and Saravanamuttu 2011, 190). A particular critique of foreign-funded NGOs was that through using their substantial funds they created alternative forces in social development, human rights, international relations and academia which weakened civil society in what has been called a form of recolonisation (Goonatilake 2006). The election of Mahinda Rajapaksa as president and his rebranding of the ethnic conflict as a war against terror brought intense investigation of NGOs suspected of engaging in unpatriotic activities.[83] Open hostilities broke out again in 2006 and because of the potential of NGOs "to highlight government human rights abuses and … the risk that NGO resources might be misappropriated by the LTTE" there was increased government concern about NGOs in conflict areas (Walton and Saravanamuttu 2011, 191). Civil society organisations were "judged through a patriotic lens" and "increasingly labelled 'traitors,' 'LTTE-sympathizers' or 'terrorists' for voicing pro-peace positions or presenting critical perspectives on the state's actions" (Walton and Saravanamuttu 2011, 191). In this environment the word "peace" became laden with suspicion of support for one side or the other, and NGOs had to engage in what has been called "peacebuilding without using the word peace" (Walton and Saravanamuttu 2011, Walton 2012b).

One of the potential strengths of civil society is that it can enable local actors to work for peace at a grass-roots level. This is in part inspired by the vision that small local examples will spread "wider" and hence upwards. Local conflict resolution workshops and organisations such as peace committees of local religious leaders and other representatives at least have some potential to increase local cooperation and resolve conflict before it intensifies (Orjuela 2003, 202-203). Orjuela noted three means by which civil society actors could contribute to peace processes, the first and third of which ("addressing ethnic divides and public opinion" through education, awareness-raising, peace education

83. Sri Lankan government concern with NGOs was not new. The GoSL had, at least since the late 1940s, controlled, monitored, marginalised or co-opted NGOs. Although welfare and rural development NGOs were often encouraged or supported by them, this was not so for those with a more critical stance. In 1991, concerned that fundamentalist Christian NGOs were forcing conversions and that politically active NGOs were raising issues such as democratisation, human rights or Tamil needs, as well as other issues relating to links between NGOs and foreign donors, the Premadasa administration set up a commission of inquiry into NGOs which brought in a range of compulsory registration and compliance measures (Van Brabant 1997, Wanigaratne 1997).

and cross-ethnic dialogue, and also "addressing economic issues through reconstruction and development" were more widely observed, but the second she listed ("addressing politics" through public mobilisation, advocacy and informal diplomacy) was less practised in Sri Lanka (Orjuela 2003, 208-209).

Evaluation of effectiveness is difficult with multiple small organisations which, although strong on rhetoric, may not achieve more than "feeling good" for the participants. Orjuela concluded that "A civil-society contribution to peace is *necessary, but not enough*" and listed some specific concerns in Sri Lanka: (1) the predominant top down approach, (2) the "authoritarian structures and democratic deficits" in many civil society groups, (3) ethnic division of civil-society activity, (4) the difficulty for many groups in distinguishing between *activity* and *impact* (Orjuela 2003, 210, emphasis in original). Wickramasinghe (2001, 168-170) argued that civil society, by being depoliticised, became "timid and sometimes servile" and "used by transnational forces as a way of transforming more efficiently domestic politics and society" (170), while Walton and Saravanamuttu (2011) argued that the effect of overseas donors, during the ceasefire, choosing to work through "a small group of Colombo-based NGOs weakened the popular legitimacy of civil society" as well as fuelling concerns about the influence of overseas donors on internal affairs (197).[84]

4. 3. 7 The Catholic Church and the Role of Catholic Peacemakers

A number of the NGOs engaged in peace work in Sri Lanka were faith-based organisations, or staffed by people of faith, leading to the popular perception that much peace work was run by Christians influenced by foreign interests and therefore a threat to indigenous values and religions. This generated a "heated debate about neo-colonial Christian domination and the threat posed to Buddhism by unethical conversions" (Orjuela 2008a, 190). Catholics are by far the largest group within Christians in Sri Lanka and continue to occupy a significant position in society and in order to see the actual or potential roles of Catholic peacemakers in Sri Lanka it is first necessary to look at the broad characteristics of the Catholic Church in relation to Sri Lankan society.

84. Walton (2012a) argues that the tensions in NGO legitimacy arose from the internationalised approach to peacemaking adopted after the 2002 ceasefire.

The Sri Lankan Catholic Church has been shaped by historical factors. The most significant of these was perhaps Vatican II which brought about a revolution in Catholic thinking, and gave the Catholic Church a positive and outward-looking theological base in a religiously-plural world. A second important factor was that many church schools in Sri Lanka were nationalised by government decree in the 1960s and the religious congregations that had run the Catholic schools had to create new ministries for their members. These factors gave the church an "outward and adaptive" role in a religiously plural world (Caspersz 1974, 104-105). Within this role there were more distinct trends, identified in 1970 by François Houtart as a progressive group of more than 50% of the Catholic population, a conservative, static group of about 25%, and a remaining group of no particular characteristic (Houtart 1970), cited in (Caspersz 1974, 109). A reception-history analysis of Catholicism in Sri Lanka by Stirrat (1992) (referred to in Camps 2000) suggests that three broad phases of mission had created three styles of Catholicism, none of which was really locally contextualised: (1) Oratorian missionaries from India drew on popular Buddhism and Hinduism, giving a form of devotional Catholicism, emphasising saints and miracles, (2) French missionaries introduced an authoritarian form of Counter-Reformation Catholicism, and (3) post-Vatican II religiosity created a more liberal style derived from European and North American Catholicism.

Although Stirrat's picture is of declining confidence and relevance of the *Sinhalese* part of the Catholic Church through the 1970s and 1980s, Spencer et al. (2015) describe different roles among the *Tamil* parts of the church in the Northern and Eastern provinces. They observed priests as boundary crossers, able to move between Sinhalese and Tamils, and providing local leadership not only for their own congregations, but also for Tamil Hindus. What Spencer et al. however do not observe are the "non-ordained" roles in the Catholic Church, many of which are carried out by the sisters and lay brothers of the religious congregations. They, especially the sisters, are a prominent part of the Catholic Church and, unlike in the West, there has been a steady stream of young women joining religious congregations.

Their roles are gendered in various ways beyond the obvious one of living in single sex communities. Most of the sisters in the women's communities perform some

active ministry outside the convent.[85] A recent study of women in religion generally in Sri Lanka observed that, although they lack parity with men, their role as "participants and performers" in peacebuilding has increased in response to recent violence. Some women have created non-traditional ways of being religious and found greater agency despite their lack of parity with men (Thiruchandran 2012, ix-xii). Catholic sisters in Sri Lanka had already created new roles for themselves by pioneering educational and healthcare services which over time became institutionalised and professionalised (218). In more recent years, without the institutions which formerly defined their ministries, one of the challenges for sisters is responding to the opportunity and the need to find new ways of being "participants and performers" in the intersection of religion, prophecy and pastoral need.

The role of men in Catholic religious congregations is highly stratified by ordination.[86] Most are priests and performing the ministries which are confined to the ordained, but the non-ordained "lay brother" minority are perhaps in a similar position to the sisters. They too have created new forms of presence and ministry, some in professional ways such as teaching, but also through contact with people in ways possible precisely because they were *not* priests. Like the sisters perhaps, they too have found in the conflict some new ways of being "participants and performers" outside the ready-made institutional roles.

To conclude this section some aspects of Catholic peacemaking will be noted.

High level roles. Although there were no religious leaders as such in the formal structures of peace talks, among those who facilitated communications were several Catholic bishops who carried messages between leaders of the GoSL and the LTTE before official channels were opened (Orjuela 2008a, 129, 171, Domínguez 2015).[87]

Long-term commitment at grassroots level and international networking and support. Orjuela found the Catholic Church had the "extent of integrity and freedom

85. In 2015, there were 2320 women belonging to one of the 28 apostolic congregations of sisters performing active external ministries, and 210 sisters in 9 different contemplative congregations (Conference of Major Religious Superiors of Sri Lanka).
86. In 2015, there were 690 men (mostly priests) belonging to one of 17 clerical congregations of men, and 170 religious brothers belonging to 4 congregations of brothers. These figures do not include a larger number of diocesan priests, i.e. those who do not belong to a clerical congregation (Conference of Major Religious Superiors of Sri Lanka).
87. The Catholic bishops had in fact recommended Norway to both sides as a suitable third party after the collapse of the 1995 talks (Sørbø et al. 2011, 30, 85).

to function in LTTE areas," factors she ascribed to its long-term local committed relationships and also to it having carried out a wide range of pro-peace activities, not only providing relief, but also "investigating and informing the international community about human rights abuses," including recruitment of children by the LTTE. Individual priests, she noted, were protected by a strong international institution (Orjuela 2005, 130). Another important role of religious actors was that of solidarity with those in the war-zone. Some were able to draw on their commitment to caring for others, and existing networks, to travel to areas of need on relief visits or at times to live alongside those most affected (Orjuela 2008a, 129).

Moral integrity and fearlessness to speak truth to power. Although both the LTTE and GoSL had the reputation of ruthless suppression of critical voices this did not always deprive Catholic leaders of a voice or the courage to take a stand on moral issues (Orjuela 2005, 130), and priests were able to advocate for displaced persons and the disappeared. Fernando (2015), in a Groundviews statement prior to Pope Francis' 2015 visit to Sri Lanka, noted a number of these, including some who had been killed, injured, or disappeared as a result of their outspokenness.[88]

Ability to reach across ethnic divides in mutual service. This includes the village-level programmes such as youth rallies for peace organised by the Centre for Society and Religion, and programmes for bringing together Tamil and Sinhalese students (Wijesinghe 2003, 176) as well as the Catholic youth movement, *Kitusara* ("Light of Christ"), and the programmes and publications it arranged to help communication between Tamil and Sinhalese, and the campaign posters used to draw public attention to some human rights or other need (Wijesinghe 2003, 182).

4. 4 Conclusion

This chapter, structured in two parts, began by outlining the relevant features of the Franciscan peace tradition. This tradition and its contemporary expressions are complex. There is no single way to be a "Franciscan" and a "person of peace." The ways in which Francis immersed himself in the core of the divisive conflicts of his day show an

88. The citizen journalism website groundviews.org "uses a range of genres and media to highlight critical perspectives on governance, reconciliation, human rights, the arts and literature, democracy and other issues" (Groundviews 2015).

intensely practical approach, rooted in an incarnational theology. He was not a theorist. 800 years of Franciscan history have created institutional memories which are strong still for Franciscans. We cannot judge involvement in the crusades or inquisitions or being agents of papal power by today's standards, but need to recognise these responses as historically conditioned. Nevertheless, they are part of contemporary Franciscan identity and although JPIC has provided a broad base for Franciscan action this is far from being a universal approach to "being Franciscan."

Two research propositions were derived from frame alignment and resource mobilisation theory, relating Franciscan identity to engaged peacemaking.

This was followed by an overview of the trajectory of the recent civil war in Sri Lanka, placing its origins in the postcolonial struggle to determine a new national identity. The consequences of the war continue to be felt nationally, but especially in many of the areas in which fighting was most intense. These are also the areas where much of the fieldwork took place and where there is a concentration of local ministries by Franciscans among some of those who have particularly suffered the effects of the war.

The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka is uniquely placed historically and in contemporary society. It arrived as part of Portuguese colonialism and introduced the first Franciscans into Sri Lanka. As with other past Franciscans who acted as agents of religious power, the Catholic Church cannot be judged by today's values, but we need to recognise the institutional memories it has created. Today, it manifests a range of responses to the civil war. Some Catholics participated in radical social movements, others in spiritual devotion and others in pastoral care of the wounded. Like the Tamils in Sri Lanka they are a minority internally but much larger worldwide when looking beyond the island. Within Sri Lanka they form a majority of Christians and although small compared to the Buddhist majority, Catholics hold a number of elite positions in government, military, business and other institutions. The Catholic Church contains roughly equal numbers of Tamil and Sinhalese members and is in a unique position of potential bridge builder. Although civil society in Sri Lanka often feels it lacks a public voice of protest, the members of its religious congregations, including Franciscans, through their identity as devoted religious workers with a tradition of care, have access to a number of points within society ranging from those in need, to potential donors, or to government or military officials.

Chapter 5 Overview of Data

5. 1 Introduction

This chapter, primarily descriptive, outlines the planning and execution of the fieldwork and then gives separate overviews of the qualitative and quantitative data, assessing its potential usefulness in addressing the three perspectives of faith, community life and Franciscan identity, and how these play out in relation to engagement in peacemaking.

5. 2 Fieldwork Preparation, Implementation and Data Collection

5. 2. 1 Human Ethics

The research required approval from the Human Ethics Committee of the University of Otago. Among the requirements for this was an information sheet for participants and individual consent forms for the three forms of participation: group discussion, individual interview and questionnaire. After approval, the information sheet and forms were translated into Tamil and Sinhala, although in the end all participants were English-speaking except for one Tamil-speaking group. At each fieldwork location the information sheet was given to each participant to read, and a verbal overview given, as well as the opportunity to ask questions for clarification. After the forms had been signed, the research continued. Only one participant withdrew. This was during a pilot group discussion and because of concerns about anonymity. To help ensure this anonymity, participants in the group discussions were asked not to refer to others by name. Any names which happened to be used were coded anonymously during transcription.

5. 2. 2 The Franciscan Population of Sri Lanka

In Chapter 4 it was noted that in 2015 in Sri Lanka there were 2320 women belonging to one of the 28 apostolic congregations of sisters performing active external ministries, 210 sisters in 9 different contemplative congregations, 690 men (mostly priests) belonging to one of 17 clerical congregations of men, and 170 religious brothers belong-

ing to 4 congregations of brothers. Of these, those which are regarded as Franciscan according to the Conference of Major Religious Superiors (CMRS), are listed below in Table 5-1, along with a newly arrived congregation not yet listed by CMRS. Also listed are the Secular Franciscan Order (Ordo Franciscanus Saecularis, abbreviated OFS) and its youth equivalent, YouFra.[89]

Table 5-1: Franciscan Congregations in Sri Lanka[90]

Category	*Congregation*	*Stated No. of Members*	*Number of Participants in Interviews and Group Discussions*
Apostolic Congregations of Sisters	Franciscan Missionaries of Mary	144	26
	Sisters of the Holy Cross of Menzigen	114	27
	Franciscan Minim Sisters	12	0
	Capuchin Tertiary Sisters of the Holy Family	3	3
Contemplative Monastic Congregations	Poor Clare Collettines	31	0
Clerical Congregations	Franciscans Third Order Regular TOR	62	7
	Order of Capuchin Friars Minor OFM Cap	12	7
	Order of Friars Minor OFM	13	5
	Conventual Franciscans OFM Conv.	5	3
Congregations of Religious Brothers	Missionary Brothers of St. Francis of Assisi CMSF	24	10
TOTAL		420	88
Secular Orders	Secular Franciscan Order OFS	?	11
	YouFra	?	3

89. Franciscans living, not as friars or sisters in community, but "in the world" as individuals with ordinary family life, employment, etc. are known as Secular Franciscans or Seculars (with an uppercase 'S' to avoid confusion with the usual meaning of "secular").
90. Membership numbers based on Conference of Major Religious Superiors of Sri Lanka ([2014?]). The distribution of survey responses was similar to that for the interview and group discussions. Some participated in both individual and group discussions but are here counted only once.

With the exception of the Secular Franciscans the number of Franciscans in Sri Lanka is approximately 400 out of 3385 members of the congregations listed by CMRS.

The Poor Clare sisters, an enclosed contemplative order with no external ministries, were not included in the study, as was a small Franciscan congregation listed above which did not respond to attempts at contact. Secular Franciscans were not part of the original fieldwork design but several opportunities arose to meet members of two of their local fraternities and so there was a limited involvement by them in answering questionnaires and taking part in group discussions.

In total, with the exception of these Seculars there were participants from 9 different Franciscan congregations, spread over 11 of the 12 dioceses of the Sri Lankan Catholic Church. Each of these congregations has quite distinct features. Some have been in Sri Lanka for more than 100 years, others have arrived very recently. They vary in size, geographic distribution, ethnic mix of membership, history, and more importantly in what each describes as its "charism," meaning in this context its spiritual identity and the life and works which flow from that. This gives each congregation a character which strongly distinguishes it from others, even though they are all Franciscans.

Preserving the anonymity of participants was an important consideration in the research design, especially considering the distinct character of each congregation. No details have been included which could identify personal information with any particular congregation. The questionnaires were anonymous, and participants in the interviews and group discussions were given codes which kept that anonymity. (See note on p. xi).

5. 2. 3 Fieldwork Implementation

The fieldwork was carried out in two phases. The first (five weeks over April-June 2013) provided an opportunity to administer the questionnaire, and conduct group discussions and individual interviews. The second (two weeks in March 2014) was not in the original design but the opportunity of a second trip to Sri Lanka made it possible to conduct some follow-up interviews as well as interviews with several new participants chosen for particular perspectives. The two phases as used here do not constitute a multiphase methodology, but the second round of interviews did provide the opportunity for follow up questions.

The original plan was to travel throughout all the areas of Sri Lanka in which Franciscan friars and sisters were active and to administer the questionnaire and interview as many as possible individually, or in groups, based on their local communities of residence. After an initial meeting with congregational leaders or their representatives, it became clear that this was unrealistic in the time available. Instead, three particular regions of interest were identified and attempts were made to visit and meet all the sisters and friars in these regions. Some participated in the group discussions or interviews, some completed questionnaires, but most of them contributed to both. These three regions were the North (Jaffna and Mannar Dioceses), the East (Batticaloa Diocese), and the Hill Country (Kandy Diocese). There were also some opportunities to visit local communities or individual sisters or friars in Colombo and Negombo (Colombo Diocese) and isolated contact with some other dioceses. Some participants distributed copies of the questionnaire to other members of their congregation as opportunity presented, for example to members of a leadership team meeting in Colombo.

In summary, each phase involved the data collection outlined below in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2: Summary of Fieldwork

Date	
2013: April 29–June 5 (fieldwork in Northern, Eastern, and Hill Country areas, also Colombo, Negombo)	13 Group Discussions, 89 participants, 50 minutes average length. 12 Individual Interviews, 11 participants, 47 minutes average length. 162 Questionnaires distributed, 127 returned.
2014: Feb 27–Mar 12 (fieldwork in Eastern and Hill Country areas, also Colombo)	12 Individual Interviews (4 new participants, 5 who had been in previous group discussions, 3 who had been interviewed previously), 52 minutes average length
Total Questionnaires returned	127
Total of Individuals interviewed[91]	20
Total of Group Discussion participants	89

The following map Figure 5-1 (p. 115) indicates the geographic spread of the fieldwork.

91. Including follow-up interviews with 5 participants from previous group discussions.

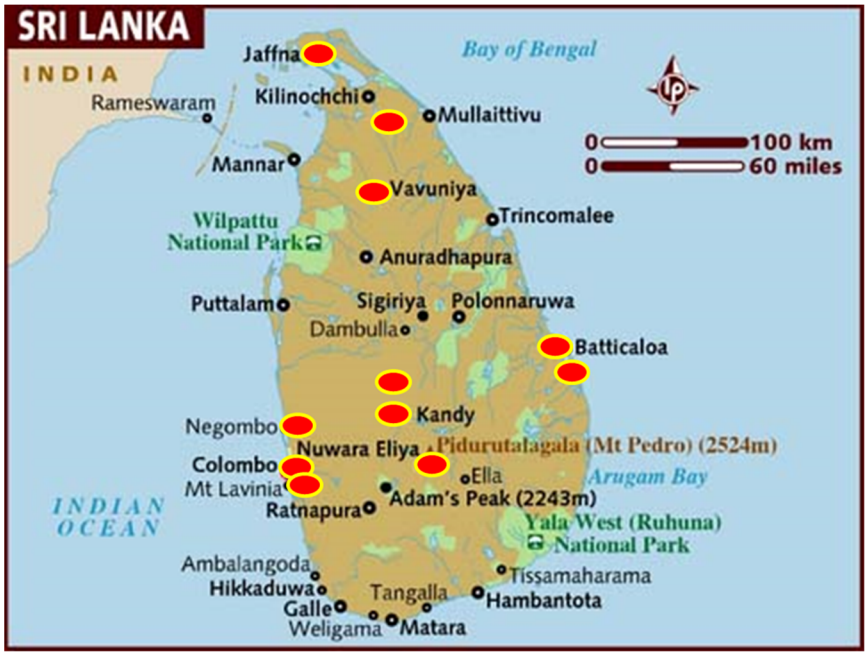

Figure 5-1: Approximate Locations of Fieldwork

The participants in the interviews and questionnaires were all Franciscan friars and sisters, except for 3 interviews held with informed outsiders, 1 group discussion with a Secular Franciscan Group and approximately 30 questionnaires received from Secular Franciscans. (The questionnaire was adapted in the field for this use; coding permitted these returns to be analysed separately). Franciscan congregational and inter-congregational websites provided another source of data.

Accommodation during the fieldwork was mainly in Franciscan friaries and convents, giving additional scope for observation (mainly in discussion over meal times) and a certain amount of participation (mainly by joining in community prayer). These "off the record" encounters did not contribute to the data formally obtained, but assisted by giving background to help understand some of the points discussed in the interviews.

5. 2. 4 Possible Limitations of the Data

There is a potential bias from the geographic distribution of the fieldwork; although from another perspective this distribution gives a particular local focus to areas which have experienced significant violent conflict (the 2004 South Asian Tsunami also significantly affected the coastal areas of the East). Also, it was found that Franciscan sisters and friars were usually highly mobile and many did not stay in any particular local

convent or friary for more than a few years at a time. Hence among the participants there were a number who had lived in areas not covered by fieldwork. Some particular features of the representativeness of the quantitative data will be considered further below.

5. 3 Qualitative Data—Interviews and Peer Group Discussions

5. 3. 1 Overview

The following methods were used in the field to collect qualitative data:

1. Semi-structured interviews with individual Franciscan sisters, friars and Seculars.
2. Peer group discussions in local Franciscan communities. These were to enable participants to respond as members of their local communities (Morgan 1997, 19), and also to give a picture of local intra-community relationships.
3. Semi-structured interviews with several outsiders who had local knowledge of Sri Lanka or of Franciscan life.

The locale for the interviews and discussions was chosen to be convenient for the participant(s). Group discussions were conducted in local convents and friaries.

The research propositions gave rise to a number of questions for semi-structured interviews and discussions. Individual interviews were planned with key leaders and those responsible for training community members as well as non-Franciscan experts. Peer group discussions were planned with local Franciscan community members. Topics for interviews and discussions were identified as shown in Table 5-3 (p. 117).

Meetings were arranged by a local research assistant (a member of the researcher's own Franciscan congregation) in conjunction with already-known local Franciscans. On initial contact a number of potential participants questioned their ability to contribute anything useful, saying that they were not specifically engaged in peacemaking activities. After explaining that their own experience of Franciscan community life and pastoral contact with others would supply useful data they were usually happy to participate. This hesitancy seemed to come at times from a humility which did not want to put itself forward, since once some of these initially-reluctant participants started speaking they revealed a real depth of experience. But perhaps the reluctance at times also showed

a perception that "peacemaking" was the work only of a few specialised sisters or friars, and not the majority.

Table 5-3: Interview and Discussion Topics

Participants	*Topics for Interview / Discussion*
Interviews with leaders of local communities.	Role as leader. Personal influences. Relationship between local community and church. Decision making in the community. Style of community life. Individual/community balance. How conflicts are handled in the community. How decisions have been made for working for peace. How this work has been sustained.
Interviews with provincial leaders (or national delegate).	Structure of province (delegation). Role as leader. Personal influences. Relationships with church. Decision making in the province. How conflicts are handled in the province. How decisions have been made about working for peace as a province.
Interviews with formators.[92]	Personal influences. Goals and programmes for formation in province (delegation). How JPIC is included in formation. Personal experience of work in JPIC field. How conflicts are handled. How decisions have been made about working for peace.
Peer group discussions with local communities.	Franciscan values. Personal Franciscan vocation. Inspiration of Francis of Assisi. Work for peace. Perceptions of needs in Sri Lanka. Experience of living in community.

The concept of peer group discussion was unfamiliar, and despite attempts by different means such as letter and phone conversation to communicate in advance the style of meeting to potential participants it was often found on arrival at each site that participants were expecting a seminar or lecture. A description of the discussion as "group sharing" put it in more familiar terms. These discussions usually closed with some brief reflection and encouragement. Another variation from the original plan was that instead of being a meeting of a small group of members of a local community the participants in some group discussions were mixed from different neighbouring communities, including those of different Franciscan congregations.

All interviews and discussions were conducted in English with the exception of a group discussion with Tamil-speaking Secular Franciscans carried out with the help of a Tamil sister. Table 5-4 (p. 118) summarises the interviews and peer group discussions held during the two phases of the fieldwork in 2013 and 2014.

92. A *formator* is the person responsible for *formation*, i.e. initial training of new congregational members.

Table 5-4: Summary of Interviews and Peer Group Discussions

Participants	*Number of interviews*	*Comments*
Provincial leaders (or national delegate)	3	All in Colombo. (One of these was also specifically involved in peacemaking activities).
Leaders of local communities	0	None held specifically as such, although the leaders of the local communities were present and participated as members of their communities in the peer group discussions, and some were interviewed in the second phase of follow-up interviews although by then had been reassigned to other positions.
Formators	1	Hill Country (1 interview). Participant was also a leader of his local Franciscan community.
Franciscans with some particular involvement in peacemaking activities.	17	Colombo/Negombo (6 interviews) North (4 interviews) East (3 interviews) Hill Country (3 interviews).
Non-Franciscan experts	3	
Total interviews	24	20 different participants (8 sisters, 8 friars, 1 Secular Franciscan, 3 non-Franciscan experts).
Peer group discussions with local communities	13	89 participants in 13 peer group discussions averaging 50 minutes, as follows: Colombo/Negombo (3 discussions) North (5 discussions) Hill Country (4 discussions), East (1 discussion).

All interviews and discussions were recorded and later transcribed into NVivo (v. 10). Having each interview and its recording synchronised meant that any passage in a recording (including those which had been difficult to transcribe) could be quickly found and listened to again.

5. 3. 2 Themes from Coding the Interviews and Discussions

After transcription each interview was coded, and these codes were gradually grouped together into themes and sub-themes, which were then modified in relation to the total data set. Similar codes were amalgamated if after seeing a wider range of data there seemed to be no substantial difference between them. These themes were as follows:

(1) Religious Commitment,

(2) Peace and Conflict,

(3) Churches and Religious Community Life, etc.,

(4) Sri Lanka,

(5) Not specifically religious entities.

An outline of the subthemes within each of these is given below.

5. 3. 2. 1 Religious Commitment

To be a Franciscan means, by definition, to be committed to a particular form of Christian discipleship, hence the salience of the dimensions of religiosity in studying what it means for someone to be a Franciscan. The codes relating to religious commitment were grouped under the five dimensions of religiosity developed by Glock and Stark in their work on religious commitment (Glock and Stark 1965, 18-38, Stark and Glock 1968, 14-16)[93] as indicated below in Table 5-5.

Table 5-5: Subthemes Relating to Religious Commitment

Subtheme (Dimension of Religiosity)	**Description of contents.**
Religious belief (Ideological dimension).	Belief in God of particular attributes, participant's faith informed by other religions, difficulties in faith, faith includes (or not) Franciscan elements, acceptance of difficulty, etc.
Religious effects (Consequential dimension).	Ability to accept difficulties, being with people, living with others, discerning the signs of the times, training and teaching others, helping others, living Franciscan values, ministry, relating with other religions, sharing faith with others.
Religious feeling (Experiential dimension).	Experience of oneness with the Divine, oneness with others, being strengthened or encouraged, sense of vocation, inspiration by Francis or example of others, tension, dissonance between faith and practice.
Religious knowledge (Intellectual dimension).	(Growing) or (lacking) knowledge of church teaching, life of Francis, Franciscan sources.
Religious practice (Ritualistic dimension).	Bible reading and study, liturgical forms of prayer and worship, individual prayer/meditation.

93. The *scales* developed by Glock and Stark for religiosity have been critiqued (see section 2.3.4.1, p. 26), but not their basic analysis of the *dimensions* of religiosity.

Religious commitment was richly expressed across these subthemes. Many participants spoke positively of their belief as a foundational value in their life. A few, responding to the suffering they have felt, stated that their faith was wavering. For many though, their faith provided a framework which gave resilience. Looking for the "signs of the times" is a characteristic attitude of religious communities since Vatican II (Second Vatican Council, *Gaudium et Spes* (Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World): 4).[94] Several congregations were reviewing their life and ministry in Sri Lanka during the course of the fieldwork. One consequence was the closing of some convents or ministries, some long-standing, so that sisters could be free to respond to current needs. Participants often spoke affectively of their life and faith; many had been drawn into Franciscan life through being inspired by the simplicity and poverty of other Franciscans. Many of those who lived in mixed-ethnic congregations spoke positively of this experience. Although many spoke of joy and happiness in being Franciscans, some felt frustrated by their inability to help others, or by dissonance between ideals and reality, or simply felt unhappy and unappreciated within their own communities. A particular interest in the religious knowledge dimension was that of knowledge of Franciscan history, texts and values. Although all had some knowledge of these, in most cases it was fairly limited. A few participants, however, drew from a much deeper appreciation of the Franciscan tradition. Life in religious community brings with it common participation in forms of prayer such as the Eucharist (Mass) and Daily Office (Morning and Evening Prayer, etc.) as well as regular personal meditation. Many participants spoke of being strengthened by these, but some had experienced difficulties participating in activities which seemed of little help to them in their particular needs.

5. 3. 2. 2 Peace and Conflict

This research project focuses particularly on how Franciscans live values of peacefulness, or become actively involved in some form of peacemaking. These subthemes, shown below in Table 5-6 (p. 121), relate not only to what the Franciscans themselves understand and do, but also to their analysis of the situations around them.

94. Vatican Council (1988a).

Table 5-6: Subthemes Relating to Peace and Conflict

Subtheme	*Description of Contents*
Experience of violence, suffering, conflict.	Participant's direct or indirect experiences of and responses to violence, suffering, conflict. Lack of spiritual values, lack of respect, normalisation of violence.
Understandings of peace.	Peace as described by participants.
Ways and understandings of peacemaking.	Different ways of engaging in peacemaking, fears or difficulties in peacemaking.

The civil war in Sri Lanka was prolonged and widespread, and most of the interviews and discussions were in areas where it had been particularly intense. Many participants spoke about how it had affected them. Some had lost close family members. For others it was experienced in the normalisation of violence. Some experienced violence or conflict in their workplaces, such as schools. A number spoke about conflict within their communities. Some had ways of addressing this internal conflict such as regular meetings to discuss issues. For some participants prayer was of value. Others seemed to feel powerless and trapped by their own trauma, unable to find healing within their own communities. None really regarded the current situation in Sri Lanka as a true peace since, although many people could go about their daily business relatively safely, many others were still deprived of human rights or unable to access their land or fishing areas. Many participants regarded their forms of peacemaking in broad terms as counselling (listening to others), or simply being present with others, and letting their own lives be a witness. Some worked in peace and values education, or promoted interfaith dialogue, or assisted humanitarian programmes, or used their international contacts and local knowledge to channel international funding to grassroots programmes such as livelihood projects. Many expressed difficulties in working for peace such as the ever-present fear of government surveillance or interference. The peacemaking projects were often very low key and positioned as development or values education; no Franciscans were known to have participated at higher levels such as peace negotiations.[95]

95. The non-Franciscan experts spoken to knew of Franciscans in a general way for their pastoral and other ministries, but not for a higher profile in peacemaking activities.

5. 3. 2. 3 Churches, Religious Community Life, Congregations, Inter-Congregational Entities

Each religious congregation is part of canonical church structures and operates under Rule and Statutes which express its values and govern its life. Each congregation has its own process of formation through which new members are trained and assimilated into the life, values and ministry of the congregation. Inter-congregational entities are usually formed for mutual support or to focus on shared tasks. These subthemes are shown below in Table 5-7.

Table 5-7: Subthemes Relating to Churches and Religious Community Life, etc.

Subtheme.	*Description of Contents*
Churches, denominations, church bodies.	Catholic Church and Vatican II, Anglican Church, religious NGOs, outsider awareness of Franciscans.
Inter-congregational entities and relationships.	e.g. CCFMC, CMRS, FI, MZF, Inter-Franciscan contact, etc.
Issues in religious life.	Internal relationships, discernment, formation, individual vs congregational, leadership, lay or ordained, vocations, vowed life, work-prayer balance, etc.
Religious NGOs.	
Specific congregations, apostolates.	References to individual Franciscan congregations and their life, ministry, ethos, etc.

The changes in religious community life brought about by Vatican II were substantial. A few participants were old enough to recall the changes from large, institutionalised convents with uniform ministries to smaller more local communities, with greater openness to the needs of the world around them. Several inter-congregational entities were referred to by participants; particularly the Franciscan Solidarity for Peace and Reconciliation. This has been very active since 2010 in bringing Franciscans together to participate in projects, but the energy of the Solidarity seems to be in a smaller group of regular members.

Participants spoke of issues relating to their own religious community life as well as its congregational tasks and values. Many spoke of the importance of formation. Another important factor was leadership, as well as the inspiration given by the original

founder and transmitted through formation. Some spoke of declining numbers and the need to adjust ministries accordingly. Discernment was practised both individually and communally and some referred to the processes of their own congregations for corporate decision-making. The values relating to the lived experience of community life were frequently referred to, and particularly the challenge of living together with those of other ethnicities. For some it was a negative experience, but for most it was appreciated positively not only for the values of love or forgiveness it fostered, but also for the witness it was to those in the neighbourhood around the community—a witness which was regarded by many as an essential part of their community's ministry. Franciscan community life is lived under the religious vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Some participants spoke of these, especially poverty, as also part of their witness of life. Although Franciscan friars are in one sense "brothers" the fact that some are ordained and others are not seemed to create a real division for some; Franciscan men's congregations are often predominantly either ordained or lay and this also generated part of the difference between congregations. Each Franciscan congregation had its own particular character and way of "being Franciscan." Looking over the interviews it was often possible to identify the congregation without looking at the coding. Individual members related to that in different ways: some happily, others seemed to acquiesce reluctantly to its decisions, and yet others rebelled against these.

5. 3. 2. 4 Sri Lanka

The interviews were mostly located in or near areas where the Sri Lankan civil war had been active and many participants, through their local ministries, knew directly of local needs, or knew of situations further afield from their previous postings or from other members of their community. Thus, there was a depth of local experience for these participants as they spoke about the needs they could see around them. These subthemes are indicated below in Table 5-8 (p. 124).

Table 5-8: Subthemes Relating to Sri Lanka

Subtheme.	Description of Contents
Economic, environmental issues.	Agriculture, fishing, employment, economic, environmental.
Family issues.	Children, youth, family, needs for daily life.
Justice, human rights, media.	Freedom of speech, human rights, justice, prisons, role of media.
Political, governmental, military.	Foreign pressure, government restrictions, land issues, military involvement in civilian life.
Psychological, social, moral, health issues.	Addictions, communication of feelings, disease and health needs, ethnic and linguistic tensions, values, grief, and reconciliation.
Religious issues.	Inter-religious tension and violence.
War and violence.	Division between people, IDP camps, violence.

Economic issues were mostly related to the cost of living and the difficulties experienced by ordinary people in earning an income. Government restrictions on land or fishing areas have compounded this. Overseas investment in large infrastructure projects was often seen as detrimental to local economies. A few participants were active in trying to promote sustainable or environmentally friendly forms of agriculture. Many of the participants were active in education, medical, social or similar ministries in the North or East and spoke of the problems they saw such as divorce, breakdown of family life, suicide, addictions, sexualisation of young people, and generally a lack of spiritual or moral values. Behind these issues they spoke of the wounds of unresolved grief and the prohibitions faced by Tamils in commemorating their dead as well as endemic ethnic and linguistic division. The wider context for this was often described as government or military control of aspects of civilian life, and the deprivation of freedom of speech. In this environment, division seemed to flourish and reconciliation to be impossible.

5. 3. 2. 5 Relations with Non-Religious Entities

Participants made a few references to non-faith based NGOs or NGOs not run by any particular church or religion. A few Franciscans had worked with these, adopting a very low profile out of concerns for safety.

5. 3. 3 Roles of Franciscan Peacemakers

After coding the interviews and discussions some distinct roles of Franciscan peacemakers began to be apparent, at least for those participants who spoke in more depth. These roles were not intended as a major part of the analysis of this study, but are noted here as another way of looking at the empirical data. (The analysis of Franciscan identity in Chapter 8 below will also derive some roles which are similar but, since derived from only one aspect of the data, not the same as these). These roles are not mutually exclusive, and some participants could, at least with limited data, be placed in more than one, and others could not be clearly placed in any role. These roles are outlined below.

5. 3. 3. 1 "Wounded Healer"

This role takes its name from the book entitled *The Wounded Healer: Ministry in Contemporary Society* by Catholic priest and spiritual writer, Henri Nouwen (1979) and refers to the paradox of healing coming through the wounded Jesus, and by extension through the therapist who him/herself has been wounded. The "wounded healers" among the Franciscans were typically sisters who had experienced significant suffering in their own lives, such as loss of family members, and who practised peacemaking mainly in listening or counselling roles. Their theological outlook had an emphasis on redemptive suffering.

One sister, S01, a Tamil in a community in a war-affected area, spoke of how her faith was challenged when her "people were starving and they couldn't eat and they were running here and there to … survive their life." She could bear her sufferings "with Jesus" through her shared humanity with him, but also felt a dissonance between ideal and reality: "I am a human, when I think about that I am a human, but Jesus was a human, but he is very strong [inaudible] now with the Father. But I am not that strong enough with the Father." She felt strong tension, "I was shaking. My faith was shaking," and found great difficulty in community life, "because of my heart, I am very strong person to accept because I get angry when they do something against me, I get angry." But she felt she could sometimes help others and this gave her some meaning. "Listening is very important for me. It is very important. Very carefully I listen to them and even not, not that I am not helping, but by listening, something I am helping that. Their worries and

their thing is coming out. And they … feel that free in themselves." Despite this she seemed to feel a dominant sense of woundedness. "Now I am affected by something. I have some corruption, anger. That I am showing to the others. Within myself, I am not peaceful enough to move the others."

Another sister, S02, also Tamil, felt inspired to "go and to have a deeper relationship to [God]," feeling that only God "can give you the spirit and wisdom to carry out my responsibility, in accordance with his will." But she faced "negative remarks … challenges of life … ups and downs, ups and downs" and lack of help, often struggling alone. But "because of these problems … God inspired me to have a deep faith in him. He says, 'Always I am with you, go ahead.'" As a human being she has felt weak, but through her tears she has found a "deeper faith in God" giving her "more and more strength to go forward."

Another expression of the "wounded healer" role was seen among a group of Tamil Secular Franciscans. Like the sisters above they were strongly devotional in their faith, with a repertoire of Franciscan-inspired prayers. For them, Francis was an object of *bhakti*-like devotion.[96] For one participant, Francis "was with the poor people and he lived a peaceful life." She said she had many problems in her family life, "but she[97] always pray … the stigmatas prayers, and this [was] very helpful for her." The Secular Franciscans accompanied the parish priest house by house visiting people and also visited the sick in hospital and bereaved in funeral houses. Asked how they prayed when visiting non-Catholics one of the group replied, "They[98] don't [answer?] them about Francis of Assisi but they introduce themselves to them that they are coming from this [group?] and that they want to pray. And if you want to be healed you ask Francis of Assisi, then he will heal."

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96. Bhakti is defined as "a generic (i.e. non-sectarian) term for a complex of religious attitudes and practices predicated on total devotion to a supreme deity with whom the devotee (bhakta) has a personal relationship. Through that deity's grace, such devotion is the principal or exclusive means to salvation, however defined. In this general sense, bhakti is now the dominant and most evident characteristic of Hinduism, if not of Indian religions in general, but the precise nature of the devotion involved, the underlying theology, and the related forms of worship all differ from tradition to tradition, and, to some extent, from individual to individual" ("Bhakti" Johnson 2009). In a Christian context it is not possible to refer to a saint (such as Francis) as a supreme deity or mediator of salvation. Nevertheless, Christians can hold something of that characteristic of personal devotion to a chosen saint who is regarded as a channel of particular divine graces.
97. The interpreter is referring to the speaker as "she."
98. The interpreter is referring to the speaker as "they" but means the group.

Some of the participants referred to above had struggles with their faith, yet they were able to interpret suffering as redemptive, and had acquired a stoic resilience by being tested through trauma. The sisters found difficulty in community life, felt alone and not understood, yet they held on to some token that life was not without purpose in helping others. Similarly, the Secular Franciscans (the group was almost entirely women) spoke of difficulties in their family life. The dimension of Franciscan understanding was not so explicit, but sisters of that same congregation spoke of their devotion to the wounds of Christ's crucifixion which are believed to have appeared in the body of Francis (the Stigmata) and the Secular Franciscans had "stigmatas prayers." These Franciscans belong perhaps to the "devotional Catholicism," emphasising saints and miracles and which draws on popular Buddhism and Hinduism in Stirrat's (1992) analysis.[99]

5. 3. 3. 2 "Theologian"

This role of Franciscan peacemaker was more inclined to derive a vision of peace from a theological approach, possibly one open to learning from other religions' insights. Peacemaking was more likely expressed as daily life with those who are "other," or in such ways as parish programmes directed towards reconciliation. This Franciscan was typically ordained (and hence male) and also sophisticated theologically and in knowledge of Franciscan sources. He was likely to be active in ministries such as leadership within his Franciscan congregation, or as a parish priest. Two representative voices are quoted here; both are priests.

Friar F01, a Sri Lankan, based his theological understanding on the same love which he saw both in Christ and in Francis, who was for him another Christ. "Basing on love, everything came of our promise about whatever he has done, whatever he has said, whatever he has performed miracles or anything. That is based on love. Even to call the creatures, animals or trees, brother and sister—that is because of love." Although in Sri Lanka they had not been actively protesting or doing other major works, the living together of two ethnic communities, "while others may be fighting or having negative thoughts for each other," was "a witness and a challenge for others." He had "little faith" in those who preferred "having meetings and discussions and sometime they don't do

99. This analysis is summarised above in Section 4.3.7 (p. 106 ff).

practical things." Peacemaking began in the love of God, experienced in the community where they could "treat each other equally, peacefully and live peacefully and love one another without racial or any differences." It would then go out from the community. He did not believe in the value of peacemaking starting as an outside programme. "It does not mean I'm not a peaceful person. What I believe is that it should come from within. It should start in the community."

Friar F02, born overseas, experienced a unity of faith when three groups of Catholics (Tamils, Sinhalese and Burghers) were "coming together and praying" in the three languages. "But they were praying, they were together. … Faith united them and I think no one had any kind of issue there. So they were praying together, and that's really I think something of what Christians can do." He regarded this faith as a "platform" or resource "in bringing together people and speaking to them about the peace, about reconciliation about the right of each individual, about the image of God in which man is created because I think that is the basis of our human dignity for us Christians."

For these two priests their theology was rooted in fundamental concepts such as love and unity. Love unites and unity is a sign of a supernatural love. This unity could then take expression in the community life as a witness to God's love. They did not touch so much on the Franciscan dimension in the passages here but elsewhere in the interviews reflected deeply on their knowledge of Franciscan sources and texts. In Stirrat's (1992) analysis they characterise the more liberal post-Vatican II religiosity influenced by European and North American Catholicism.[100]

5. 3. 3. 3 "Individual Activist"

Those of this role had a strong sense of individuality and created new forms of peacemaking beyond existing ministries through such means as facilitating communications, developing peace education programmes or development programmes, or prayer for healing. They were theologically astute and drew on particular skills such as linguistic ability. A few representative voices illustrate this, one a Sri Lankan sister, the other an overseas born brother (not ordained friar).

100. This analysis is summarised above in Section 4.3.7 (p. 106 ff).

Sister S03 recognised that violence was everywhere and not just in the war zones and helped develop a peace-zone programme for children to help them achieve peace in their whole lives, "in … thoughts, in … words, and in … actions" so that in a simple way they could "make a choice whether we want to have it [violence] that way or not." For her, "to be a Franciscan means, to be a faithful follower of Christ, you know, the gospel. And the … message of the gospel is love and peace." She felt a strong imperative, as a Franciscan, "to look to that gospel and give the gospel." In Sri Lanka this meant "to be a bridge, to be a builder of peace, a builder of relationships" since this is what Francis did with his life, cultivating peace in all relationships, including with creation. "So first of all, I had to cultivate that, that peace within me." It was not easy "making the sisters understood that JPIC have to be the essence of all work we do. You know, like, it's not JPIC is a separate unit, a separate apostolate. But in our teaching, in our apostolate with children, whatever we do we, we have our JPIC way of doing things."

Friar F03 who was multi-lingual was appointed as an adviser to the police constables in his area, and served as mediator between Tamil villagers and Sinhalese police as well as giving advice to police on the local situation. "So whenever things [are] happening in society, in the community, they will invite me to get my advice." The LTTE suspected him of supporting the army, and the army of supporting the LTTE. His friends also suspected him. He found some strength in prayer, but was frustrated by lack of action. "We can say the same prayer. Lord make me an instrument of your peace. The only prayer I can say together and it [work?]; it's only [work?] prayer that can inspire us always. We have to take a prophetic role, but we can't take it in Sri Lanka. We have to take a prophetic role." He felt guilty "because we are preaching, preaching, doing some services, like. But we are not prophetic. We are not. We need to face the challenges. We don't want to fight with the government." If the government found out a meeting was being held they would investigate. "Immediately they will come and search, or they will investigate. … They will interpret anything and everything. Against the government. Whether good or bad, the religious, or anything."

These two voices are from people with strongly developed individual characteristics. Their faith enabled them to cross boundaries, and created new forms of ministry and relationship. Their faith also enabled them to look critically at themselves, and their situations, and to see what still needed to be done. For the sister her community life was

important, despite her strongly developed individual ministries, but this did not seem so for the brother. They also probably characterise a more liberal post-Vatican II religiosity (Stirrat 1992).[101]

5. 3. 3. 4 "Community Witness and Action"

This role is characterised by friars and sisters who carried out existing pastoral ministries but with a positive "peace intention." Internal community relationships were important. They might also have adopted specific peacemaking programmes as a ministry of their community, rather than a specific individual. Such communities were often of mixed ethnicity, and if so, that was considered an important part of their witness.

An example is that of Sister S04 who came to live in a village to which people were returning after three years of internal displacement. They started visiting the local residents and got to know them. Many of them were war widows and Tamil Hindus. "We had a get together and we asked them, what do you want, and how do you see our presence here …So then they said, … we are very happy to be with you when you are here. … They said, you will just to listen to us, that's all we need for the moment. We need somebody to listen, somebody to be with us, to support us." The sisters did some trauma counselling sessions, and realised there was a lot of pain in the children who were weak and restless. In response to this they began some simple therapy with the children including singing and storytelling. "We find that is very meaningful. Very practical for them. They like to do it also." But they realised that this therapy needed to be sustained by their own community life. "As Franciscans, we are trying to look into our own personal life and we are, we need healing. We need conversion. Like an aspect of forgiveness. So we worked on those things in communities; we are weak and forgive one another, and all those things. That is, to build up the Franciscan spirit in the centre among us in the fraternities."

This participant, and others typical of her, showed a faith which helped work across religious boundaries. The emphasis was on simple, practical projects motivated by a universal love for those in need. Community life was also a highly appreciated and indeed necessary resource, as was a sense of drawing on Franciscan identity. Like the

101. This analysis is summarised above in Section 4.3.7 (p. 106 ff).

previous two roles these sisters probably also reflected a more liberal post-Vatican II religiosity (Stirrat 1992).[102]

5. 4 Quantitative Data—Questionnaire

5. 4. 1 Overview

A self-administered "Franciscan Apostolate, Faith, Values and Community Life Questionnaire" (see Appendix 3, p. 329), summarised in Table 5-9 (p. 132), was used to obtain quantitative data.

The questionnaire was translated by external translators into Tamil and Sinhala. The translations were then independently checked by Sri Lankan Franciscans and some corrections made, but they advised it would be better to use the English originals since the friars and sisters to whom the questionnaire was to be administered were all English-speaking. (English is used as the common internal language within Sri Lankan religious communities.) An unplanned-for opportunity to administer the questionnaire to a group of Tamil-speaking Secular Franciscans was met by the interpreter reading out the questions and making ad hoc changes to the sections on community life.

102. This analysis is summarised above in Section 4.3.7 (p. 106 ff).

Table 5-9: Summary of Questionnaire

Section	***Contents***	***No. of questions***
Demographic	Status in religious life, age, age of entering religious life, years in current local community, number of members in current local community, urban/rural location, diocese, birth country, ethnicity, education.	10
Peacemaking	Participation in different forms of peacemaking at different periods. Space also provided for open ended responses. Days per week on peacemaking activities. Space for open-ended response on normal weekly activities.	15
Faith	The Religious Schema Scale (Streib, Hood Jr, and Klein 2010). This consists of three subscales: "Truth of Text and Teachings" (*ttt*); "Fairness, Tolerance and Rational Choice" (*ftr*) and "Xenosophia: Inter-Religious Dialogue" (*xenos*). "*ttt* is preoccupied with the concern for one's own religion and with the envisioned positive experience of its unchallenged integrity, *ftr* features the concern and vision of a fair coexistence of the religions, and *xenos* is concerned with preserving openness and features as positive experience the creative surplus in interreligious encounters" (158).	15
Franciscan peace orientation	Orientation between Franciscan peace being seen as primarily a spiritual value or as a radical way of living in the world.	4
Community life orientation	Orientation between being guided principally by individual or community values.	4
Community health	The "general functioning" subscale of the McMaster Family Assessment Device (Epstein, Baldwin, and Bishop 1983) adapted for community members by substituting "community" for "family" (An adaption done by McGarrahan (1991))	12
Total		60

The original plan was for the questionnaire to be given to participants on arrival at each local Franciscan friary or convent and collected after doing interviews and before departing the following day. Some participants opted to do this, but others chose to return them by post. Of the 162 questionnaires distributed, 127 were returned, giving a return rate of 78%.

To ensure confidentiality and anonymity there was no identifying number on the questionnaires when distributed. When returned they were given a serial number to assist with data entry into an Excel spreadsheet. This was checked for transcription accuracy, and then imported into SPSS (v. 22) for statistical analysis. An examination of outliers

against the original questionnaires was a double check that these values had been entered correctly.

Ambiguous replies were coded as blank. Reverse coded items were entered as originally scored, and then mirrored within SPSS to give a unified set of items to form each scale.

5. 4. 2 Missing Data

Of the 127 responses to the questionnaire, 10 had 1 blank page each, and 2 had 2 blank pages each. It is not possible to ascertain why these pages were left blank. Perhaps the questions in them were too difficult or challenging, or perhaps those participants were confused by double-sided pages. Other missing data were from individual questions left unanswered. For each of the Likert score items there was no response in around 5–11% of the total returned questionnaires.

Little's "Missing Completely At Random" (MCAR) test is a test of the null hypothesis that data are not missing at random. An MCAR test on the full questionnaire data strongly supported the null hypothesis that data were *not* missing completely at random (χ^2 = 1813.30, *df*=1684, *p*=0.014). After excluding the 12 participants whose returns included at least one blank page the same MCAR test gave low support to the null hypothesis (χ^2 = 1537.42, *df*=1465, *p*=0.09). However, performing the same test on individual scales (subscales) gave greater confidence that the missing data for each scale or subscale were missing randomly, (*p* ranges between 0.25 and .98), except for the RSS *ftr* subscale (*p* = 0.014). On this basis, estimates of missing data in the (sub) scales were carried out scale-by-scale on the full data set (*n*=127) and also the subset excluding returns missing whole pages (*n*=115) using the Expectation-Maximisation (EM) procedure in SPSS.

5. 4. 3 Coding of Responses to Open-ended Questions

Questions B11–B13 allowed participants to give details of peacemaking activities other than those listed in B1–B10. These responses were imported into NVivo for analysis as qualitative data but were also coded into the questionnaire data in SPSS. Some responses were able to be coded into the existing categories in B1–B10. For example, "day of recollection" was coded as "B10 Spiritual" and "awareness programme for human

rights work" was coded as "B4 Education." (Many of these categories were already marked by participants as an active form of peacemaking). Some, which seemed not to be specifically peacemaking activities (e.g. "preaching the gospel," "spiritual work"), were added to the list of main weekly activities in B15. The remaining responses were coded into two new categories of peacemaking activity, "B16 Pastoral" and "B17 Witness" which emerged from analysing the written responses; thus "help the broken-hearted" and "visit the sick" were coded as "B16 Pastoral," while "to share peace and joy" and "living together as a mixed cultural group" were coded as "B17 Witness."

Question B15 asked about normal weekly activities. After analysis of the responses these were coded into 10 new variables, grouped as subsections of B15 (pastoral, prayer, community life, education, study, communication, domestic work, charitable works, church work, peacemaking). The original open-ended responses were also imported into NVivo for further qualitative analysis.

5. 4. 4 Univariate findings

Here, an overview of the responses to each of the sections in the questionnaire will be given, some of which will be cross-tabulated with relevant demographic variables.

5. 4. 4. 1 Demographics (Questions A1-A7 and E1-E3)

One of the basic divisions in the data is that of state in religious community life, as indicated in Table 5-10 (p. 135).

The Secular Franciscans (OFS and YouFra) were not in the original plan for fieldwork but were included after the opportunity arose to meet several local fraternities. The 61 Sisters represent 66% of the total of Sisters and Friars (*n*=92). This percentage was similar to that of the total population of sisters, priests and brothers of all the religious congregations in Sri Lanka.[103] There were few ordained friars participating in the questionnaire. A partial explanation is that in the areas where the fieldwork was conducted most of the friars were members of a congregation whose members were not ordained.

103. 2529 sisters, 856 priests and religious brothers, totalling 3385. Sisters are thus 75% of this total population of religious congregations (Conference of Major Religious Superiors of Sri Lanka [2014?]).

There were also many theological students (future candidates for ordination) among the not-ordained friars.

Table 5-10: State in Religious Community Life (A1)

State in Religious Life	*Total*	*Percent*	*Valid Percent*
Sister	**61**	48.0	48.0
Friar (not ordained)	**28**	22.0	22.0
Friar (ordained)	**3**	2.4	2.4
Secular (female)	**31**	24.4	24.4
Secular (male)	**4**	3.1	3.1
Total	**127**	100.0	100.0
No response	**0**	0	
Overall Total	**127**	100.0	100.0

Another main point of analysis was that of participants' age, as shown in Table 5-11 (p. 136).

The overall age distribution of the participants was quite young, a quarter being 18-29 years old. A partial explanation was that there was a cohort of seminarians among the non-ordained friars. However, there was also a predominance of sisters younger than 50, while the greatest number of Secular Franciscans were in the 50-59 range. The 18-29 year participants were born during the Sri Lankan civil war, and for the 30-39 year olds the armed hostilities began during their childhood. Of these younger participants, those born in Sri Lanka had lived in a country at a state of war for most or all of their lives. The number of young members is probably typical of other religious congregations in parts of Asia and Africa where there are many new entrants, unlike in many western countries where there are fewer joining and hence overall numbers are declining.[104]

104. The Georgetown University Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (Berrelleza, Gautier, and Gray 2014) notes that the number of sisters in US sisters' communities has declined from a peak in 1965 of 181,421 to below 50,000 in 2014. In 2009 80% of sisters in the US were 60 or older, and only 1% under 40. The trends in Europe are similar. Statistics for other countries are less readily available but news reports based on Vatican sources such as e.g. Ziegler (2011) indicate increasing numbers in parts of Asia and Africa—an increase attributed to new numbers joining.

Table 5-11: Current Age (A2) (broken down by Religious State)

	Religious State (Frequency)							
Current Age	***Sister***	***Friar (not ord)***	***Friar (ord)***	***OFS (female)***	***OFS (male)***	***Total***	***Percent***	***Valid Percent***
18-29	6	20	1	3	2	**32**	25.2	25.8
30-39	14	4	1	5	0	**24**	18.9	19.4
40-49	16	3	0	7	0	**26**	20.5	21.0
50-59	7	0	0	10	2	**19**	15.0	15.3
60-69	6	1	0	4	0	**11**	8.7	8.9
70-79	9	0	1	1	0	**11**	8.7	8.9
80 or older	0	0	0	1	0	**1**	.8	.8
Total	58	28	3	31	4	**124**	97.6	100.0
No response	3	0	0	0		**3**	2.4	
Overall Total	61	28	3	31	4	**127**	100.0	

A breakdown by religious state and entry age[105] showed that approximately 92% of the sisters or friars joined while aged 19-29, while Secular Franciscans had joined over a more even range of ages. The formation programmes for new entrants to the sisters' and friars' congregations are designed for high school leavers or those who are not much older. Some congregations run minor seminaries for boys providing religious schooling on Saturdays to supplement their regular high school education and help them prepare to make a decision about entering religious community life soon after leaving high school. Because candidates were generally young when they joined, and were part of a batch of peers, it can be expected that they would be strongly influenced by this experience. It is not for nothing that the process for newcomers is known as "formation" since the aim of

105. See Appendix 4.1 (p. 335).

it is for candidates to become strongly oriented to the spiritual, communal and apostolic values of the congregation.[106]

Franciscan friars and sisters are by nature itinerant. An analysis of the reported years in current community[107] showed that 51% had been in their current community for fewer than 5 years and only 3% for more than 10 years. There was no particular age distribution in this. The process of formation typically takes a candidate from a house for postulants or pre-novices to a house for novices. After that a post-novice or newly professed sister or friar would probably experience several different ministries and move accordingly. Even after taking final vows, few stay in the same house or particular ministry for more than 5 years. A further illustration of this mobility is that of the friars or sisters met for follow-up interviews in March 2014, some 4 out of 8 had moved from, or were in the process of moving from, the house in which they were living during the previous round of interviews less than a year ago in May 2013. Members of monastic congregations (such as Benedictine monks) take a vow of stability. Franciscan friars and sisters do not. A monk or enclosed nun would be likely to speak of their identity as a member of a particular *monastery*. A Franciscan friar or sister would tend to speak of their identity as a member of a particular *congregation*, or of a particular *province* of that congregation.

One of the significant changes in religious community life after Vatican II was that many of those involved in active ministries moved out of large houses into smaller communities, situated among local needs with a greater variety of ministries being undertaken in response to these needs. An analysis of the sizes of the communities in which participants were residing[108] showed that 87% of sisters were living in communities with 9 or fewer sisters, and that of these most were living in even smaller houses with fewer than 5 per house. The response for friars was skewed by the inclusion of a large group of seminarians living in a house of studies, but without these, most friars were also living in small houses, of fewer than 5 members. Those living in smaller communities were much

106. Anecdotal evidence suggests there may be a significant change underway in entry patterns. One Franciscan congregation accepted no novices in 2014, a situation it had not previously experienced in its history in Sri Lanka. There were several applicants, but they were not accepted because of significant levels of post-conflict trauma and uncertainty about vocational genuineness.
107. See Appendix 4.2 (p. 335).
108. See Appendix 4.3 (p. 336).

more likely to be doing so in "ordinary" houses, looking little different from those in their neighbourhoods.

An analysis of locale (village, town or city) broken down by size of community[109] showed that 61% of the sisters or friars living in small or medium sized communities (of fewer than 9 members) were in villages or smaller areas. This suggests the likelihood of a strongly local focus in presence and ministries among the questionnaire respondents. However, it was observed when collecting the questionnaires that some respondents from the same place did not answer this question uniformly. A possible explanation of this is that, for the sake of simplicity, "village," "town" and "city" were not defined in the questionnaire.

The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka is divided into administrative units, known as dioceses, each under the pastoral oversight of a bishop. Although religious communities are generally not under the authority of bishops the distribution of participants throughout the twelve dioceses in Sri Lanka gives a picture of the geographic spread as shown in Table 5-12 (p. 139).

Some of the dioceses with greatest representation corresponded to the areas of greatest violence and suffering in the North and East. Almost all the sisters' responses were roughly equally spread across 4 dioceses representing the North, East and Hill Country. The isolated dioceses each with 1 sister participating resulted from the distribution of the questionnaire to members of a national leadership council of one of the congregations. Most of the non-ordained friars were in Kandy Diocese where they were seminarians at one of the national seminaries. The large Secular Franciscan participation in Jaffna Diocese resulted from the opportunity to meet some members of the local fraternity. Breaking down the same data by ethnicity: in Jaffna 45 participants (out of 48 valid responses) were Tamil, while in Batticaloa 8 out of 12 were Tamil; the participants in Kandy were divided almost equally between Sinhalese, Tamil and other (mostly born overseas).

109. See Appendix 4.4 (p. 336).

Table 5-12: Diocese (A7) (Broken down by Religious State)

	Religious State (Frequency)							
Diocese	***Sister***	***Friar (not ord)***	***Friar (ord)***	***OFS (female)***	***OFS (male)***	***Total***	***Percent***	***Valid Percent***
Anuradhapura	0	0	0	1	0	**1**	.8	.8
Badulla	0	1	1	0	0	**2**	1.6	1.6
Batticaloa	12	1	0	0	0	**13**	10.2	10.3
Chilaw	1	0	0	0	0	**1**	.8	.8
Colombo	6	3	0	3	0	**12**	9.4	9.5
Galle	1	0	0	0	0	**1**	.8	.8
Jaffna	18	2	0	25	4	**49**	38.6	38.9
Kandy	11	20	2	2	0	**35**	27.6	27.8
Kurunegala	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	0.0	0.0
Mannar	10	0	0	0	0	**10**	7.9	7.9
Trincomalee	1	0	0	0	0	**1**	.8	.8
Ratnapura	1	0	0	0	0	**1**	.8	.8
Total	61	27	3	31	4	**126**	99.2	100.0
No response	0	1	0	0	0	**1**	.8	
Overall Total	61	28	3	31	4	**127**	100.0	

As has been noted above in Chapter 4 on the Sri Lankan context, ethnicity is deeply embroiled in its divisions, along with its correlates of religion and geography. Although ethnicity forms a line of division between Buddhists and Hindus, Christians are approximately equally spread across both Tamil and Sinhalese ethnicities. Table 5-13 (p. 140) shows the distribution of participants.

Almost all the participants were Sri Lankan nationals (*n*=107, 84.3%), the balance were born overseas (*n*=15, 11.8%); 5 gave no response to this question. One congregation still had a few of the older generation of missionaries who came long ago with the intention of remaining for life. None of these were among the participants. Now, postings to Sri Lanka were for a particular term and often with a specific purpose. Some of the

overseas-born participants were younger members and sent to Sri Lanka for study or experience. As noted above the "younger and born in Sri Lanka" participants were born or brought up during the hostilities in Sri Lanka, but also many of the "younger and born overseas" participants were from countries with significant levels of armed conflict such as intra-state or border disputes. The older overseas-born participants had usually been sent to occupy some leadership role and assist with a congregation newly arrived in Sri Lanka. Any specific overseas countries named by participants in this question were grouped as "overseas" to help preserve anonymity.

Table 5-13: Ethnicity (E2)

Ethnicity	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Valid Percent*
Sinhalese	21	16.5	17.1
Tamil	80	63.0	65.0
Burgher	5	3.9	4.1
Other	17	13.4	13.8
Total	123	96.9	100.0
No response	4	3.1	
Overall Total	127	100.0	

The ethnic distribution in the overall population, Catholic population and Franciscan population will be considered below in Section 5.4.5 (p. 147) on the representativeness of the questionnaire returns. The figures above, when cross tabulated with diocese show that out of the 122 participants who responded to both the ethnicity and diocesan questions the largest group were 45 Tamils in Jaffna (these included 27 Secular Franciscans), followed equally by 11 Sinhalese and 11 Tamils in Kandy. Next was "Other" in Kandy (n=10, these were overseas born participants). Next in order were 9 Tamils in Mannar and 8 in Batticaloa. Most of the participants were Tamils, and most were in areas which had experienced high levels of violence during Sri Lanka's civil war. It should be noted too that considering the mobility of the friars and sisters even those who happened to be living in relatively peaceful areas would possibly have been at some time in more violent areas, or they would know other members who had been.

The final demographic question was about level of education attained. A breakdown by religious state[110] showed that most sisters had reached secondary education or technical or university certificate or diploma level. Most were working in ministries such as nursing or primary teaching. Of the non-ordained friars, a substantial number were partway through a tertiary-level seminary programme normally of 7 years duration. The Secular Franciscan participants were almost all housewives who had completed secondary education but nothing further.

5. 4. 4. 2 Peacemaking and Regular Weekly Activities (Questions B1-B15)

Peacemaking Activities

Participants were asked to indicate which of a wide selection of possible forms of peacemaking they had taken part in over three time periods, (1) prior to the May 2009 LTTE surrender, (2) post May 2009, and (3) currently doing. Each response was either a "circle for yes" or left blank. Blanks were coded as "No"; there was no specific option to indicate "No." The instructions stated that more than one number could be circled in each row or column. Most participants did so, some did not (possibly regarding this question as a Likert scale). The percentages given below in Table 5-14 (p. 142) are of (1) total responses by all participants (i.e. out of 127) and (2) responses by sisters and friars only (out of 92).[111] Responses for B11-B13 (other peacemaking activities) were recoded into either existing categories or two newly created categories (Pastoral Activities, Witness to Peace).

The low responses for B16 and B17 reflect these items being coded only for those who had specifically written related responses in the free-text section of "other" forms of peacemaking in B11-B13. It is interesting to note the differences between reported participation in different activities and also some time-related variations, e.g. in B4 (Education) or B3 (Observer) with an increasing reported participation over the three time periods. These may have been difficult roles, or lacked opportunity, in the period of intense conflict. The change in B5 (Facilitating Understanding) may reflect a greater incidence of such activities in the years immediately following the conflict.

110. See Appendix 4.5 (p. 337).
111. For example, for B1 (advocacy), 32% of *all* participants, and 30% of the *sisters and friars* indicated that they had engaged in this before May 2009.

Table 5-14: Peacemaking Activities (B1-B13)

		Done before May 2009 (the date of the military defeat of the LTTE)	*Done between May 2009 and now*	*Currently doing*
B1	Advocacy (activism, working for positive change in society, truth-telling, speaking out against injustices)	32% 30%	35% 34%	40% 41%
B2	Being an intermediary (fact finding, aiding communications, peace-process advocacy, facilitation, conciliation, mediation)	21% 19%	31% 40%	32% 30%
B3	Observer (being a physical presence intended to discourage violence, corruption, human rights violations or other threatening or undesired behaviour)	19% 19%	21% 24%	35% 40%
B4	Education (Training in conflict resolution, democracy, or living with diversity; increasing awareness of injustice, or promoting healing and reconciliation)	24% 23%	32% 40%	52% 53%
B5	Facilitating understanding between parties in conflict (e.g. by meeting for dialogue, working together at common projects, or other methods)	21% 15%	38% 37%	23% 27%
B6	Nonviolent action as a form of protest against injustice	20% 19%	17% 17%	30% 35%
B7	Dialogue with other religions	27% 26%	21% 25%	35% 41%
B8	Dialogue with other Christian churches	30% 29%	15% 17%	40% 37%
B9	Liturgical activities such as prayer or worship for peace (not including the usual daily office or Mass)	35% 31%	35% 42%	41% 47%
B10	Spiritual activities such as meditation or fasting for peace	44% 41%	32% 41%	47% 52%
B16	Pastoral (recoded from responses to “Other”)	2% 2%	2% 2%	2% 4%
B17	Witness to peace (recoded from responses to “Other”; 3 additional “yes” responses were indicated but at no specific time period.)	2% 2%	2% 3%	3% 4%

Some of this variation can be seen more clearly by summing up responses activity-wise and calculating a simple mean for each activity. These also were broken down into "sisters and friars" and "Secular Franciscans"[112] and shown below in Table 5-15.

Table 5-15: Mean of Responses for each Peacemaking Activity

		Mean (potential range = 0-3)		
		Sisters and Friars (n=92)	***Secular Francis-cans (n=35)***	***Total (n=127)***
B1	Advocacy	1.05	1.14	1.08
B2	Being an intermediary	0.88	0.71	0.83
B3	Observer	0.82	0.54	0.74
B4	Education	1.16	0.86	1.08
B5	Facilitating understanding between parties in conflict	0.79	0.89	0.82
B6	Nonviolent action as a form of protest against injustice	0.71	0.54	0.66
B7	Dialogue with other religions	0.92	0.57	0.83
B8	Dialogue with other Christian churches	0.84	0.86	0.84
B9	Liturgical activities such as prayer or worship for peace	1.21	0.83	1.10
B10	Spiritual activities such as meditation or fasting for peace	1.35	0.91	1.23
B16	Pastoral (recoded from responses to "Other")	0.08	0.03	0.06
B17	Witness to peace (recoded from responses to "Other")	0.13	0.00	0.09

The predominant activity of friars and sisters was reported as Spiritual Activities, followed by Liturgical Activities and then Education, but for the Secular Franciscans it was Advocacy. Some of these responses may reflect the opportunity normal daily activity

112. Someone who answered "yes" for B1 Advocacy for *each* of the three time periods would score 3; someone who answered "yes" for *only one* of these would score 1.

presented. For example, a number of sisters were working in education and had the opportunity for peace education in their existing ministry. Spiritual and liturgical activities were part of the daily life of friars and sisters. An interesting observation is the number, especially of Seculars, who reported participation in advocacy. There may have been different cultural or linguistic understandings in the predominantly Tamil group of Seculars of the term "advocacy."

Likewise, a similar table, Table 5-16, was constructed showing the means for each time period.

Table 5-16: Mean of Responses for each Period

		Mean (potential range = 0-12)		
		Sisters and Friars (n=92)	***Secular Franciscans (n=35)***	***Total (n=127)***
1	Pre-May 2009	2.57	3.26	2.76
2	Post-May 2009	3.23	1.66	2.80
3	Current	4.11	2.97	3.80

Again there was a different pattern in response between sisters and friars (an increasing involvement as time progressed) and Seculars. This peacemaking activity data will be used in more depth in the following chapters.

Peacemaking Days per Week

Another measure of engagement in peacemaking activities was obtained through asking participants how many days each week on average they engaged in some form of peacemaking. Responses are in Table 5-17 (p. 145), broken down by religious state.

Somewhat inconsistently 18 sisters (out of 61) gave no response to this question although between 2 and 8 of them had responded with a "yes" to each of the current peacemaking activities in B1-B10. The results for the 18 non-ordained friars who gave no response are similar. The results for the Secular Franciscans are interesting and suggest that a number of them saw that they were more engaged in peacemaking throughout the

week than are the sisters. Perhaps they saw the locus of their peacemaking more in the situation of their daily life in the home and neighbourhood.

Table 5-17: Peacemaking Days per Week (B14) (Broken down by Religious State)

	Religious State (Frequency)							
Peacemaking days per week	***Sister***	***Friar (not ord)***	***Friar (ord)***	***OFS (female)***	***OFS (male)***	***Total***	***Percent***	***Valid Percent***
1 day or less	20	5	0	3	0	**28**	22.0	30.1
2-3 days	12	5	2	13	2	**34**	26.8	36.6
4-5 days	5	3	0	4	1	**13**	10.2	14.0
6-7 days	6	5	1	6	0	**18**	14.2	19.4
Total	43	18	3	26	3	**93**	73.2	100.0
No response	18	10	0	5	1	**34**	26.8	
Overall Total	61	28	3	31	4	**127**	100.0	

Normal weekly activities

Participants gave open-ended responses to a question asking them what activities took up most of their time in a normal week. Many answered with more than one activity. These responses were grouped into categories as shown in Table 5-18 (p. 146) (many answered with more than activity, hence the percentages do not total 100%).

The absence of a response for a category does not necessarily mean that participants were not doing that activity, merely that they did not report it. There was a clear distinction between the self-reporting by those who live in community (i.e. the friars and sisters) and that by Secular Franciscans. For many sisters and friars what they indicated as "Pastoral" or similar usually took the form of work in a parish, such as visiting church members, conducting catechesis or leading prayer in church groups. A large number of Seculars reported doing "Church work." From other sources of information this was often such ministries as visiting the sick or prayers with the bereaved, and so perhaps Pastoral or Church Work could be combined.

Table 5-18: Normal Weekly Activities (B15)

	Percentage of Responses for Each Religious State					
Activity	*Sister (n=61)*	*Friar (not ord) (n=28)*	*Friar (ord) (n=3)*	*OFS (female) (n=31)*	*OFS (male) (n=4)*	*Participation (Percent of all Responses)*
Pastoral	41	21	0	7	25	**27**
Prayer	8	32	33	61	25	**28**
Community life	13	18	33	3	0	**12**
Education (of others)	33	7	33	3	0	**19**
Study	2	32	33	7	0	**10**
Communication	0	0	33	0	0	**1**
Domestic Work	3	4	0	61	0	**17**
Charitable	0	0	0	13	25	**4**
Church work	2	4	0	36	0	**10**
Peacemaking	26	21	0	6	0	**19**

5. 4. 4. 3 Religious Schema Scale (Questions C1-C15)

A Cronbach's alpha test was carried out twice on each subscale of the Religious Schema Scale, first on each subscale in its original state (including missing values) and then after estimation of missing data values by Estimation-Maximisation had been performed scale by scale. The results obtained indicated a medium consistency within each subscale (Cronbach's alpha in the range of 0.799–0.839). This was similar to the results obtained by the formulators of this scale in initial testing and validation (Streib, Hood Jr, and Klein 2010, 161). Each subscale was separately summed to give three separate RSS scores for each participant. The scores for each of the three subscales covered the full potential range from 5 to 25—indicating that for each subscale there was at least one participant who responded with "very inaccurate" to every question, and likewise at least one participant who responded with "very accurate."

5. 4. 4. 4 Franciscan Peace Scale (Questions C16-C17)

A Cronbach's alpha test was carried out first on the original 4 items of the scale (including the missing values) and then after estimation of missing values ($\alpha = -0.452$). This value indicated a negative average covariance among items, and that the four "Franciscan Peace" questions did not reliably form a scale. These questions were derived ad hoc from the researcher's existing knowledge of the tensions which exist among Franciscans about inner values and outward action and had not been tested previously for consistency. Rather than construct a scale from them they were used as individual responses for further analysis in Chapter 8.

5. 4. 4. 5 Community Life Scale (Questions C20-C23)

A Cronbach's alpha test was carried out at first on the original 4 items of the scale (including the missing values) and then after estimation of missing values ($\alpha = 0.038$). This value indicated that the four "Community Life" questions did not reliably form a scale. These four questions relating to community versus individual orientation were (like the Franciscan Peace Scale above) derived ad hoc and previously untested for consistency. Rather than construct a scale from these they were used as individual responses in Chapter 7.

5. 4. 4. 6 Community Health (Questions D1-D12)

A Cronbach's alpha test was carried out first on the original scale (including the missing values) and then after estimation of missing values ($\alpha = 0.723$, $\alpha = 0.729$ respectively). This indicated medium consistency among the items forming the scale. This scale was used in Chapter 7.

5. 4. 5 Representativeness of Questionnaire Data against the Total Franciscan Population

The original research design planned to survey as many as possible of the total Franciscan population of Sri Lanka. At a preliminary meeting with congregational leaders it was obvious that constraints of time, travel and availability of participants would make

that unrealistic. Instead, it was decided to focus on three significant geographic areas in which Franciscans were ministering among people who had recently experienced traumatising levels of violence or natural disaster or who continued to suffer systemic violence, and to try to obtain as complete as possible questionnaire returns from this whole sub-population. Such an opportunistic sampling method can have a number of drawbacks which prevent its generalisability to a wider population; on the other hand it can give a depth of responses from a population which might be hard to study otherwise (Brady). To help assess how representative the data collected were of the total Franciscan population of Sri Lanka, each leader of the Franciscan congregations of friars and sisters was asked to supply summary population statistics for their congregation in Sri Lanka broken down by (a) age range, (b) place of birth (Sri Lanka or elsewhere), (c) ethnicity, and (d) diocese. Because of differences in counting those on temporary international transfers the totals for some sections did not match the total for other sections. Secular Franciscans were excluded from this summary; they were not originally intended as participants and their number nation-wide is far greater than the 35 who completed questionnaires.

These population totals were compared below by chi-squared tests with the questionnaire returns as shown in Table 5-19 (p. 149).

Note 1: State of Religious Life

The difference in proportions between questionnaire returns and the total Franciscan population was significant (χ^2 (2) = 15.335, $p< 0.001$). The very small number of ordained friars who participated reflects the geographical distribution of the fieldwork since the congregations which include ordained friars were largely absent from the North and East.

Note 2: Age

Breakdown by age was not available for one of the larger congregations. Using figures for the total of the remaining congregations (n=225), and combining the 70-79 and 80+ categories (observed 80+ was zero), the difference in proportions between questionnaire returns and the total Franciscan population was significant (χ^2 (5) = 62.061, $p< 0.001$).

Note 3: Place of Birth

The difference in proportions between questionnaire returns and the total Franciscan population was significant (χ^2 (1) = 5.30, p=0.02).

Table 5-19: Questionnaire Returns and Total Sri Lankan Franciscan Population

		Questionnaire Returns	***Total Franciscan Population***	***Comparison***
State of Religious Life	Sisters	61 (66%)	278 (69%)	See note 1 above
	Friars (lay)	28 (30%)	72 (18%)	
	Friars (ordained)	3 (3%)	54 (13%)	
	Total	92 (100%)	404 (100%)	
Age	18-29	27 (30%)	51 (23%)	See note 2 above
	30-39	19 (21%)	34 (15%)	
	40-49	19 (21%)	55 (24%)	
	50-59	7 (8%)	39 (17%)	
	60-69	7 (8%)	22 (10%)	
	70-79	10 (11%)	18 (8%)	
	80 +	0 (0%)	6 (3%)	
	total	89 (100%	225 (100%)	
Place of Birth	Sri Lanka	74 (83%)	365 (90%)	See note 3 above
	Overseas	15 (17%)	39 (10%)	
	Total	89 (100%)	404 (100%)	
Ethnicity	Sinhalese	19 (21%)	151 (38%)	See note 4 below
	Tamil	50 (56%)	194 (49%)	
	Burgher	3 (3%)	10 (3%)	
	Other	17 (19%)	41 (10%)	
	Total	89 (100%)	396 (100%)	
Diocese	Anuradhapura	0 (0%)	6 (2%)	See note 5 below
	Badulla	2 (2%)	11 (3%)	
	Batticaloa	13 (14%)	18 (5%)	
	Chilaw	1 (1%)	22 (6%)	
	Colombo	9 (10%)	163 (45%)	
	Galle	1 (1 %)	4 (1%)	
	Jaffna	20 (22%)	41 (11%)	
	Kandy	33 (36%)	64 (18%)	
	Kurunegala	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	
	Mannar	10 (11%)	24 (7%)	
	Ratnapura	1 (1%)	7 (2%)	
	Trincomalee	1 (1 %)	5 (1%)	
	Total	91 (100%)	365 (100%)	

Note 4: Ethnicity

The difference in proportions between questionnaire returns and the total Franciscan population was significant (χ^2=14.34, *df*=3, *p*=0.002). This test violated a condition for reliability because the minimum expected value in one cell was less than 5. Combining "Burgher" and "Other" the difference was still significant (χ^2 = 11.620, *df*=2, *p*=0.003).

Although national percentages of ethnicity by population are approximately 75% Sinhalese, 15% Tamil, 9% Sri Lankan Moor, and 1% others (Sri Lanka Department of Census and Statistics 2012e), the percentage of Tamils among Christians is substantially higher than this. If we assume Catholics have a similar ethnic distribution to the total Christian population (of which they form 80%) then we can reasonably estimate that the Catholic ethnic distribution is approximately Sinhalese 62%, Tamil 36% and Other 2%.[113]

Note 5: Diocese

A chi-square test could not be performed on this data in its initial state because of the incidence of low numbers for some dioceses. If the smaller dioceses, Anuradhapura, Badulla, Chilaw, Galle, Kurunegala, Ratnapura and Trincomalee were combined then a chi-square test indicated a significant difference in proportions between the questionnaire returns and the total Franciscan population (χ^2=75.37, *df*=5, *p*<0.001).

The four dioceses of Batticaloa, Jaffna, Kandy and Mannar account for 83% of the returned questionnaires from friars and sisters. Ignoring the other dioceses, the returns from these four *were* significantly in proportion to the Franciscan population of these dioceses (χ^2=2.00, *df*=3, *p*=.57). Moreover, the 76 returns from these four dioceses were from a total Franciscan population of 147 in those dioceses, giving a 52% coverage rate.

Conclusion

Although the questionnaire data were not generally representative of the total Franciscan population in Sri Lanka, they *were* representative of the Franciscans in four of the twelve dioceses. These dioceses represent areas where people recently experienced

113. An estimate, based on 1981 census data, was that 33.95% of Christians were Tamil and 62.43% were Sinhalese (Hoole 1996). This estimate was based on calculations using the numbers who were "Tamil but not Hindu" and "Sinhalese but not Buddhist." Using a similar method with 2012 census data gave approximately 36% of Christians as Tamil and 62% Sinhalese. The total Burgher population is insignificantly small (approx. 37,000) and would make a difference of only a few percentage points.

traumatising levels of violence or natural disaster or who continue to suffer systemic violence. The data are not only representative of the Franciscans in these dioceses, but indicate a high participation rate.

5. 4. 6 Correlations

A Pearson correlation test was performed to test possible relationships between the peacemaking responses and the Community Health and Religious Schema Scales and to look for overall patterns in the data. Some weak or very weak correlations were found, as detailed in the Table 5-20 (p. 152).

A few points of interest include the significant negative correlations between *RSS ttt* ("Truth of Text and Teachings") and some of the Peacemaking activity scores. The compilers of RSS had observed a positive correlation between *RSS ttt* and fundamentalism (Streib, Hood Jr, and Klein 2010). The result here suggests that a person with a religious *attitude* which strongly adheres to its texts and teachings was less inclined to be active in peacemaking. On the contrary the other RSS subscales *RSS ftr* ("Fairness, Tolerance and Rational Choice") and more so the *RSS xenos* ("Xenosophia, Inter-Religious Dialogue") had more positive correlations with forms of active peacemaking. These relationships will be examined in more detail in the following chapters using Logistic Regression Analysis.[114]

114. Logistic Regression Analysis is the form of regression analysis appropriate where the dependent variable (in this case participation or non-participation in some form of peacemaking) is a dichotomous outcome represented by a "yes / no" variable. It predicts the odds of a particular outcome based on the values of the independent variables (Menard 2002, Tabachnick 2007, ch. 10, Hosmer 2013).

Table 5-20: Selected Correlations between Peacemaking Activities and Community Health and RSS Subscales

		Comm hlth	*RSS ttt*	*RSS ftr*	*RSS xenos*
Peacemaking days per week	Pearson	-.073	.231*	.202	.352**
	Sig.	.491	.027	.055	.001
	N	91	92	91	92
Peacemaking Pre May 2009 (sum of all activities)	Pearson	-.109	-.146	.049	.042
	Sig.	.235	.105	.587	.642
	N	121	125	123	126
Peacemaking Post May 2009 (sum of all activities)	Pearson	.159	-.247**	.087	.129
	Sig.	.082	.005	.336	.151
	N	121	125	123	126
Peacemaking Current (sum of all activities)	Pearson	.262**	.093	.103	.365**
	Sig.	.004	.300	.258	.000
	N	121	125	123	126
Advocacy (sum across time periods)	Pearson	.101	-.009	.058	.179*
	Sig.	.271	.921	.521	.045
	N	121	125	123	126
Intermediary (sum across time periods)	Pearson	.104	-.082	.027	.169
	Sig.	.255	.364	.770	.058
	N	121	125	123	126
Observer (sum across time periods)	Pearson	.056	-.202*	.013	.067
	Sig.	.539	.024	.889	.456
	N	121	125	123	126
Education (sum across time periods)	Pearson	.186*	-.084	-.008	.152
	Sig.	.041	.354	.930	.090
	N	121	125	123	126
Facilitating understanding (sum across time periods)	Pearson	.016	-.037	.084	.248**
	Sig.	.860	.685	.354	.005
	N	121	125	123	126
Nonviolent action (sum across time periods)	Pearson	.082	-.121	.084	.135
	Sig.	.373	.178	.358	.130
	N	121	125	123	126
Dialogue other religion (sum across time periods)	Pearson	.019	-.068	.170	.241**
	Sig.	.833	.449	.060	.007
	N	121	125	123	126
Dialogue other Christian (sum across time periods)	Pearson	-.002	-.049	.092	.117
	Sig.	.983	.585	.313	.193
	N	121	125	123	126
Liturgical total (sum across time periods)	Pearson	.173	-.121	.146	.236**
	Sig.	.058	.180	.108	.008
	N	121	125	123	126
Spiritual (sum across time periods)	Pearson	.308**	-.181*	.148	.283**
	Sig.	.001	.043	.102	.001
	N	121	125	123	126

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

5. 5 Other Data—Websites and other Publications

Most of the Franciscan congregations being studied had websites for Sri Lanka, or at least for their international level administrative division.[115] A number also had documents available online such as newsletters, discussion guides or policy statements. Approximately 75 web pages and 25 documents were downloaded into NVivo and used as sources of additional information about congregational ethos or ministries. These documents will be brought into the analysis in the in the following chapters.

5. 6 Conclusion

There were a number of voices in the qualitative data, mainly Franciscans working at grassroots level in areas which experienced intense violence in Sri Lanka's prolonged civil war. The themes which were coded related to the three perspectives of the following chapters, not in a straight-forward one to one correspondence, but in a more complex way.

(1) Religious commitment themes related to both Faith (Chapter 6) and Franciscan Identity (Chapter 8).
(2) Peace and conflict themes related to the overall context of all three perspectives.
(3) Church, Religious Community Life, etc. themes related mainly to Community life (Chapter 7).
(4) Sri Lanka themes related to overall context over all the perspectives.
(5) NGO relations—likewise related to overall context.

These themes intersect each other, as seen in helping delineate some of the characteristics of the Franciscan peacemaker roles outlined above in Section 5.3.3 (p. 125). These themes will be further analysed in the following chapters.

The questionnaires were distributed mainly to those who already had participated in the interviews and group discussions. A few questionnaires were distributed to others who did not participate in the interviews or group discussions. There was therefore, a high correspondence between those who contributed to the two data sets: qualitative

115. Known as a "generalate."

and quantitative. Therefore, the analysis in the following chapters which brings together the qualitative and quantitative data is comparing data from very much the same participants.

Despite some difficulties with incomplete or possibly inaccurate returns there was a significant range of data covering the regions most affected by Sri Lanka's civil war and involving participants who lived through some of the times of the most active warfare. A further aspect of this was seen by looking at the high rate of participation (approximately 50% of the population of Franciscan sisters and friars) in the four dioceses representing the North and East (areas which saw high levels of armed conflict) and the Hill Country (a mixture of pastoral ministries in some very deprived areas, and also theological education) as shown below in Table 5-21.

Table 5-21: Response Rate in Jaffna, Mannar, Kandy and Batticaloa Dioceses

Dioceses	*Total Population of Franciscan Sisters and Friars*	*Number of Interview and Discussion Participants*	*Number of Questionnaires Received*
Jaffna, Mannar, Kandy and Batticaloa	147	71	75
Total (all dioceses)	365	99	92

Although the data have particular regional focuses and could not be generalised nationally, both qualitative and quantitative approaches, in some particular regions of interest, obtained a depth and breadth of coverage able to be used for further analysis.

Chapter 6 Living in Faith

6. 1 Introduction

This chapter examines the interplay of faith and engagement in peacemaking among the Franciscan sisters and friars and Secular Franciscans of Sri Lanka. The particular focus is on the relationship between aspects of their faith, various demographic factors and their participation in various forms of peacemaking. Subsequent chapters look at engagement in peacemaking from the perspectives of (a) community life and (b) Franciscan identity.

Faith was defined above in Section 1.3.2 (p. 5) as the stance of the individual whose life is oriented around a particular set of religious beliefs. Such an orientation is potentially a driver of social action since, at least for Christians, action can be regarded as flowing from a faith based on religious beliefs which include those concerning human values. An example could be that belief in the incarnation (that God took human flesh in Jesus Christ) leads to a faith which orients itself round the goodness and love of God and which then finds outward expression in acts of love for others. Another example could be that someone whose life is oriented around belief in human sinfulness and unworthiness may have a faith characterised by fearfulness and be unwilling to undertake social action.

Franciscans are, by definition, people with a particular faith commitment which is expressed through ministry and community life (for sisters and friars) or home life (for Secular Franciscans). This commitment is, after a time of training and testing, made for life. Essentially it is a particular expression of the commitment made by Christians in baptism. It is described by Francis of Assisi in the *Earlier Rule* of 1221 as "follow[ing] the teaching and footprints of our Lord Jesus Christ," (Earlier Rule: 1. FA:ED 1, 63-64) or in the officially adopted *Later Rule* of 1223 as "[observing] the Holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Later Rule: 1. FA:ED 1, 100).

The official publications of the Franciscan congregations studied here describe this faith as both affective and effective; it is not only an internal disposition, but also leads to and shapes active engagement in the world, as illustrated in the following representative quotations from various official statements.

One of the congregations of sisters described membership of their congregation as an "extraordinary adventure which fascinates; it is to let ourselves be led by the love

of God which consecrates us and calls us to know him, to love him and to serve him; it is to feel oneself sent and to go to meet the peoples to share their lives and to discover the mystery which each human person is" (Franciscan Missionaries of Mary 2009b).

For another of the Franciscan congregations, the Sisters of the Holy Cross, their vision of being "committed women transcending all human barriers for fullness of life," was expressed through a mission described as a "radical following of Christ [that] motivates us to respond to the challenges of our time risking new ways to empower others for transformation" (Sisters of the Holy Cross (Menzingen) 2011a). Fairly recently arrived in Sri Lanka were the Friars Minor Conventual. They "are called by the spirit to serve the Church and humanity in various forms of ministries by living our Franciscan Charism" (Order of Friars Minor Conventual. St Maximilian Kolbe Province). Another congregation of friars, the Third Order Regular Friars, described their spirituality as "the duty of constant conversion to a living God in the biblical sense, and to perform acts of kindness according to time and place" (Third Order Regular of St Francis of Assisi n.d.-a).

These statements can be taken as normative for each Franciscan congregation. They are quoted from official sources and represent ideals which, for the Franciscan, are aspirational and inspirational. These ideals are not necessarily seen in every member, yet study of such statements forms part of the formation process for new members.

Although religion is a potentially ambiguous factor in the midst of conflict and religious actors can use elements of their traditions in non-peaceful ways (for example selectively using scriptures to normalise violence or sacralise existing conflict), the point of interest here is how religious actors, whether explicitly *as* religious actors or not, can draw on their faith and the values in their tradition in order to promote peace.

The focus of this chapter is the interplay of faith and action among the Franciscan sisters, friars and Seculars in Sri Lanka, seen through the two propositions that faith, and the attitudes which flow from it, are (a) related to a frame alignment of actively engaged peacemaking, and (b) a resource able to sustain that active engagement. By "peacemaking" is meant the participation in any of a range of activities directed towards resolving conflict, or promoting peaceful attitudes whether among specific groups of people, or more generally throughout society. Generally speaking, the means for such active peacemaking include various forms of direct contact with parties in conflict, or educational, religious

or spiritual activities or similar programmes which aim to disseminate peaceful values through society

A number of studies of members of religious communities or of clergy have looked at factors related to their *attitudes* to change or *willingness* to engage in forms of activism, such as Neal (1970)[116] which recognised "belief systems … as *causal* factors in the process of resisting and accepting social change" (7, emphais in original).

The focus of this research is somewhat different. Sri Lanka is unavoidably defined by more than 30 years of civil conflict. Franciscans living and ministering there have been affected by this as much as anyone else since they are not living in isolation from the world around them. Their ministries have taken them among Tamil Hindus and Sinhalese Buddhists. They have ministered in camps for the internally displaced, coordinated programmes for housing and sustainable agriculture, trained trauma counsellors, visited prisoners, taught in schools, nursed the sick and been a voice for the suffering. Other ministries, parish-based, have been more specifically among fellow Catholics. All participants spoke of the deep suffering they have experienced, many of them among their own family members. How does their faith enable them to frame ministries which align with the deep needs of those they minister among? How does this faith function as a resource?

Rather than attempt to look for causal factors relating faith to *attitudes* for change, the question of the relationship between faith and active peacemaking is more that of how faith relates to the ways in which people who belong to religious congregations distributed in local communities (for the friars and sisters) and which exercise particular ministries, have responded to extensive and prolonged violence and the needs it has created around them. The research propositions suggest that those of mature faith, open to being enriched by other religions, and actively engaged with the world, will seek transformation of structures causing violence and that those who know their faith tradition well (e.g. its scriptures and teaching) and who are grounded in spiritual practices such as prayer will have a resource which gives them resilience.

116. Based partly on Stark and Glock (1968).

6. 2 Overview of Qualitative Findings

For Franciscans, faith is expressed in many ways, personal and corporate. It is signified by commitment to a life which valorises religious vows as an expression of the shape of that life. The commitment is both deeply held, and also often expressed in very visible signs. Franciscans in Sri Lanka (including Secular Franciscans) generally wear habits or other distinctive forms of religious dress in public. Sisters and friars usually live in convents or friaries which are well-known in their neighbourhoods. The interviews were usually held in these residences. It is not surprising that faith emerged very naturally as a major theme in the interviews and group discussions.

"Faith-talk" seemed to be gendered. At the risk of stereotyping it could be observed that sisters (and the Secular Franciscans who were predominantly female) spoke subjectively of their relation to God, Jesus or Francis while friars tended to speak more in objective ways, addressing concepts rather than relationships, but still maintaining a faith expressed in affective terms.

First, some comments from sisters who were active in various ministries mainly among Tamil women. For one sister, "God gave me strength to face the reality, gave me strength to face the reality, and to go beyond … human barriers … for the fullness of life and the development of persons" (S02). God was perceived as a source of strength not only for individual benefit, but for ministry with others. For another sister, God was her "Eucharistic Lord"[117] and it was through God and her "prayer life, and the support of the sisters in the community" that she found strength. The sisters "go to him and we put out everything and we draw the strength for our mission. So, he gives us all the mission." After their daily work with the people they returned to the convent, "and … bring all the people to Jesus, evening prayer time, and then he gives us the courage and the strength" (S05). She articulated a cyclic movement; strengthened by God, she went out to the people, and then brought their concerns back with her, offering them in prayer.

A Secular Franciscan woman expressed how faith had changed her life. "After learning about the Franciscan way of life, after following the gospel way of life. I think I can—like, handle any situation in life." She now felt fearless, "even if the whole world topples" because she was "so much with the Lord now" (W01).

117. She refers here to the body and blood of Jesus known in the bread and wine of the Mass or Eucharist.

Many of the friars interviewed were studying for ordination, and a few were already ordained. One of the students expressed how his faith had changed through his study. His initial seminary studies began with philosophy, which brought him "many questions … about God and regarding his existence," especially in view of the suffering around him. But when his studies moved to theology he felt a "paradigm shift" and after meeting people, "when I heard their sufferings, when I heard their faith experiences" his doubts were taken away and he came to find "meaning in the suffering in Christianity" (F04). His faith had developed to the extent that what had led previously to doubt, now led to understanding and belief.

Another friar expressed how his theological understanding of God as creator drove his vision for reconciliation. "We can play a greater role in bringing together people and speaking to them about the peace, about reconciliation, about the right of each individual, about the image of God in which man is created because I think that is the basis of our human dignity for us Christians" (F02). His faith had led him to a universal understanding of humanity as the creation of a good creator.

Despite these positive statements about faith a few participants seemed to be expressing deeper struggles. One sister spoke of having lost three close family members. She found some consolation in sharing her sufferings with Jesus, "when I think about that I am a human, but Jesus was a human." This was insufficient for her since she felt her faith in God was inadequate compared to Jesus' own faith in God. "I am not that strong enough with the Father. So I was shaking. My faith was shaking. I was questioning within myself, where are you Lord" (S01). Such struggles do not necessarily indicate a lack of faith, since a deeper faith can emerge from them.

The level of attained education was not recorded for the interview participants, but there was a sense in which they drew on the knowledge and concepts they were familiar with through their education and experience. As will be seen when considering the quantitative data below there were some statistically significant relationships between education and participation in forms of peacemaking.

6. 3 Overview of Quantitative Findings

6. 3. 1 The Religious Schema Scale

The Religious Schema Scale (RSS), discussed in Chapter 3 on scales on faith consists of three subscales. In more detail these are:

(1) *ttt,* Truth of Text and Teachings (sample item: "What the texts and stories of my religion tell me, is absolutely true and must not be changed"). This addresses "the concern for one's own religion and with the envisioned positive experience of its unchallenged integrity;"

(2) *ftr*, Fairness, Tolerance and Rational Choice (sample item: "We should resolve differences in how people appear to each other through fair and just discussion"). This concerns "the vision of a fair coexistence of the religions;"

(3) *xenos*, Xenosophia, (sample item: "The truth I see in other worldviews leads me to re-examine my current views"). This relates to the positive experience of the "creative surplus in interreligious encounters" (Streib, Hood Jr, and Klein 2010, 158).

These are claimed to have moderate predictive validity with regard to Fowler's faith stages:

> The *ttt* subscale … corresponds to, and is supposed to be indicative of, the mythic-literal faith of Fowler's stage two and to the instrumental-reciprocal religious style (Streib 2001). The *ftr* subscale … relates to the individuative-reflective faith of Fowler's stage four and to the religious style that Streib (2001) labeled individuative-systemic. At first sight, *ftr* may appear unrelated to religion, but it is, in our view, as strongly related to religion as Fowler's individuative-reflective faith, namely, assessing a tolerant, fair, rational, and reflexive dealing with religious pluralism. Finally, the *xenos* subscale … aims at the conjunctive faith in Fowler's model or to what Streib (2001) called the dialogical religious style (Streib, Hood Jr, and Klein 2010, 158).

The RSS, particularly with its measure of xenosophia, seemed to offer a helpful way of viewing the role of religious actors in peacemaking, especially in conflicts where religion is implicated. For this reason, it was chosen for this study to test the propositions that faith is (a) related to a frame alignment of actively engaged peacemaking, and (b) a

resource able to sustain that active engagement. Thus, people with a faith more open to the wisdom of other religions, and less dependent on adherence to the doctrine of their own tradition would be more likely to be active in working for peace, especially in an inter-religious context, and more likely to acknowledge universal values such as love, peace, or reconciliation, and be open to dialogue with those of other faiths, not for proselytisation but for mutual enquiry and enrichment.

6. 3. 2 Religious Schema Scale Responses

The three individual RSS subscale scores were formed by summing the responses to each of the five related questions. (The original design of these without any reverse scored items was followed). Thus, the possible minimum for each subscale was 5 (representing an answer of "very inaccurate" to each statement) and the possible maximum was 25 for someone who answered "very accurate" to each statement. The actual responses ranged over the full range of possible values, as shown in Table 6-1 below.

Table 6-1: Summary of Responses to RSS Subscales

	RSS ttt	***RSS ftr***	***RSS xenos***
Valid responses	125	123	126
Minimum	5	5	5
Maximum	25	25	25
Mean	20.40	20.00	20.49
Std. deviation	4.82	4.61	4.44

Most scores were at the high end of each subscale, with only a few at the lower end of each. Examining those with an extreme low score of 5 or 6 on any one of the subscales and looking to see the corresponding score on the other subscales we can see the following triplets (ordered by *ttt*, *ftr*, *xenos*): (5, 9, 5), (6, 5, 7), (6, 21, 9), (6, 24, 8), (21, 6, 17). Looking also at those with extreme high scores we can see that generally an increase in one score was positively related to an increase in the other scores. Examination of the relevant dot plots showed this in general across the range of each score. This differs

from the finding of the RSS compilers that *ttt* was negatively correlated with each of the other subscales. An explanation of this may be in the nature of the group surveyed. They had a particular religious orientation, unlike the more secular populations on which the score was originally tested. Another characteristic of the Franciscan population is that although these subscales are a measure of individual responses to questions about personal values (and as such they are an indication of individual faith) these individuals cannot be taken in isolation from their context. Friars and sisters live in community with others, and Secular Franciscans, although not living in community, are committed members of a religious order with commonly held values. Faith, although individual, is lived in a context which can either amplify individual values, or be in antagonism to them.

6. 3. 2. 1 Cluster Analysis of the Religious Schema Subscale Responses

Cluster analysis uses statistical techniques to form similar groups from within a data set; more specifically these techniques are a "multivariate statistical procedure that starts with a data set containing information about a sample of entities and attempts to reorganize these entities into relatively homogeneous groups" (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984, 7). Potential problems with cluster analysis are that regardless of the homogeneity within the data it is always possible to form clusters and these clusters can differ substantially depending on the method used. However, the resulting clusters can be used in combination with other approaches to the data and thus tested as well as adding a level of understanding.

Cluster analysis was performed using two-step cluster analysis in SPSS (version 22) on the three original RSS subscales (*ttt*, *ftr* and *xenos*) treated as continuous variables.[118] Automatic determination of the number of clusters generated only two clusters of which the large one (n=92) was of cases with medium to high scores for all three RSS subscales, while the small cluster (n=31) contained low to medium scores. These two clusters were insufficient to see much pattern, but manual selection of the number of clusters enabled a larger number to be generated. The optimum was chosen as four, this

118. Other parameters were set as: Distance measure by Log-likelihood, Outlier treatment not selected, Continuous variables standardised. Cluster analysis can be sensitive to the order of data so to remove this effect the data set was first randomly sorted.

being the maximum number of clusters of "good" quality using SPSS's silhouette measure of cohesion and separation. Details of the resulting clusters are in Table 6-2 below.

Table 6-2: Cluster Description (Mean and Standard Deviation)

	Number in cluster	***RSS ttt***	***RSS ftr***	***RSS xenos***
Cluster 1	7	*M* 7.14 *SD* 2.12	*M* 15.86 *SD* 7.40	*M* 8.29 *SD* 2.29
Cluster 2	22	*M* 19.73 *SD* 2.75	*M* 13.14 *SD* 3.71	*M* 18.36 *SD* 4.50
Cluster 3	73	*M* 23.30 *SD* 2.19	*M* 21.90 *SD* 2.19	*M* 21.93 *SD* 2.51
Cluster 4	21	*M* 15.57 *SD* 3.14	*M* 21.95 *SD* 2.58	*M* 21.62 *SD* 3.32
Missing data	4	-	-	-
Total	123	*M* 20.42 *SD* 4.83	*M* 20.00 *SD* 4.61	*M* 20.46 *SD* 4.48

There is considerable disparity in size between the clusters. (The large size of cluster 3 can be partly explained since it contains 30 of the 34 Secular Franciscans). Visually, these clusters can be represented as shown in Figure 6-1 below. (The histograms show relative distributions).

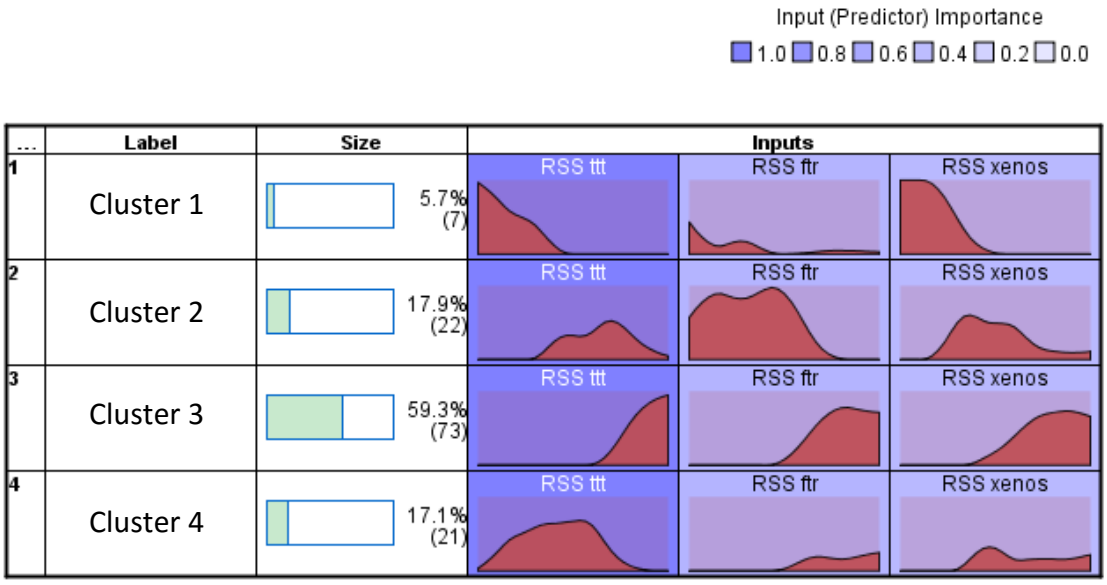

Figure 6-1: Distribution of RSS over Clusters

These findings are discussed below in Section 6.4.2 (p. 165) which compares the clusters with the characteristics of their probable membership as seen in the qualitative data.

6. 3. 2. 2 Correlation of Peacemaking and RSS scores

To give an overview of the relationship between peacemaking and the RSS sub-scores a Peacemaking Total score was calculated for each participant by summing the responses for each of the possible peacemaking activities listed in the questionnaire. Scatter plots of this Peacemaking Total score against each of the three subscales of RSS or the RSS total showed no clear linear pattern of association. Perhaps because the Peacemaking Total score was the sum of responses to conceptually different forms of peacemaking it was too approximate an instrument to show underlying patterns.

This is not surprising. In the interviews and group discussions participants spoke in different ways of different forms of peacemaking activities. For example, dialogue with those of other faiths was for some expressed as familiarisation, learning about "the other," while for others it was experienced through participation in Buddhist monastic life or being asked by Hindus to lead a prayer or meditation. Relationships with other Christians fell into two areas, those with the mainline Christian denominations (perhaps taking the form of cooperative participation in common programmes, such as for social justice) and

at times rather uneasy relationships with the more newly established Pentecostal style churches whose religious style emphasises divine healing, miracles and conversion.

6. 4 The Relationship between Faith and Engagement in Peacemaking

6. 4. 1 Introduction

This section took several approaches to the quantitative and qualitative data. First, following the overall cluster analysis of the RSS subscales (see Section 6.3.2.1 above) an attempt was made at comparing qualitative and quantitative data through further cluster analysis. Then logistic regression analysis was used to examine more closely the relationships between the different forms of peacemaking and various independent variables, particularly the RSS subscales. From these results a selection was made of various forms of peacemaking activity for which the qualitative data were used to give greater interpretative depth to the quantitative data.

6. 4. 2 The Quantitative and Qualitative Data Compared by Cluster Analysis

The qualitative and quantitative data were not directly comparable. Although both are empirical, they come from different perspectives. The quantitative data were derived from a self-administered questionnaire, and its results initially analysed by numerical methods suitable for the data in question. The qualitative data came from a thematic analysis of interviews and group discussions. Although most participants completed a questionnaire as well as taking part in a group discussion or individual interview in order to preserve anonymity there was no direct way of relating a specific interview to a questionnaire or vice versa.

Nevertheless, cluster analysis provided a way of bringing the two sources together since characteristics of each cluster could be used to identify related interview data. Dominant characteristics of each cluster were matched with voices corresponding to those characteristics in a general way, such as for example, friars in a particular region, although in some cases several congregations could not be disaggregated. A tentative comparison

between the RSS clusters and congregations suggests that some of the pattern in the clusters relates to the demographic data or likely congregational membership, as summarised in Table 6-3 (p. 167).

Members of the very small Cluster 1 (*n*=7), with lower scores on the *ftr* and *xenos* RSS subscales, could be expected to have been less involved in active forms of faith-based peacemaking, yet many of them had participated more than expected, although mostly only pre-May 2009. An interesting point however is their low score on the *ttt* subscale, suggesting perhaps that their peacemaking during the active conflict was driven more by "not being fundamentalist" rather than "being open to other faiths." Examination of the membership of that cluster showed, as noted above, a dominance of friars belonging to F2 congregation, they were also predominantly mono-ethnic and concentrated more in the Central and Eastern provinces. During the time of active conflict some of the friars of that congregation had active ministries in the IDP camps. Post-conflict they were facing problems with government restrictions forcing them to close or change long-established institutional ministries. They seemed beset by external pressure both on themselves and those around them. "There are some camps, refugee camps in Sri Lanka, but the government is showing the world that [there are] no camps in Sri Lanka. … A lot of refugees are homeless and the government is showing the outside leaders that everything is okay (F05)." The government policy of fostering Buddhist institutions left at least some of them feeling that Catholics and others were under threat and, lacked a voice for justice. "As a Franciscan I would [speak out]. This is our … *need.* St Francis, he raised [his] voice" (F06). Their participation in peacemaking activities since May 2009 may be driven more by opportunity, or its lack, rather than faith.

Table 6-3: Broad Characteristics of each Cluster

Cluster	*Size*	*RSS ttt*	*RSS ftr*	*RSS xenos*	*Significant points*
1	7	--	-	--	More Friars, and of F2 congregation.
2	22	-	--	--	More Sisters, and of S2 congregation, living in local communities of 5-9 members.
3	73	=	+	=	More Secular Franciscans, also S2 sisters.
4	21	--	+	+	More living in local communities of 10-14 members, and in Batticaloa and Colombo dioceses, and of either S2 or S3 congregation. Fewer in Jaffna diocese.

Key

--	Less than 1st quartile point	=	Equal to mean	+	Between 2nd and 3rd quartile points
-	Between 1st and 2nd quartile points			++	Greater than 3rd quartile point

On the other hand, members of Cluster 4 (*n*=21) were more consistently involved in active forms of peacemaking across all three time periods. Their cluster was stronger in the RSS *xenos* subscale, suggesting they had an open appreciative attitude to other beliefs, while at the same time their lower score for RSS *ttt* could indicate they held less of a fundamentalist adherence to their own religious teachings. They were predominantly in the more ethnically mixed areas of the Eastern Province and Colombo, but it was not possible to disaggregate the S2 and S3 sisters in this cluster.

Cluster 2 (*n*=22) were mainly sisters, also in areas where there had been a higher incidence of conflict, and like Cluster 1 also had low scores on the RSS subscales, although *ttt* was somewhat higher. This group was also fairly identifiable from the interviews. Although a few had quite extensive ministries as peacemakers, they were generally struggling to find meaning and purpose in their lives.

The largest group, Cluster 3 (n=73) included a large number of the Secular Franciscans and although they scored highest on average in the "fundamentalist" subscale of *ttt*, they also scored above the mean in the other RSS subscales.

Although Cluster Analysis has drawbacks as an analytic tool since its results can be strongly influenced more by how it is set up than necessarily by shapes in the data, the limited use of it here suggests that there are relationships between faith and active engagement in peacemaking.

6. 4. 3 Logistic Regression Analysis of the Relationship between Faith and Peacemaking

This section presents the results of logistic regression analysis of participation in various forms of peacemaking activities, regressed on the RSS subscales, and controlled for selected demographic variables. A selection of these findings will then be illustrated by comparison with the qualitative data.

The scales and subscales used, along with abbreviated codes and a brief discussion of the expected significance of each are in Table 6-4 (p. 169).

As noted above, Logistic Regression Analysis is the form of regression analysis appropriate where the dependent variable (in this case participation or non-participation in some form of peacemaking) is a dichotomous outcome represented by a "yes / no" variable. It predicts the odds of a particular outcome based on the values of the independent variables (Menard 2002, Tabachnick 2007, ch. 10, Hosmer 2013).

Table 6-4: Scales and Demographic Factors for Logistic Regression Analysis

RSS subscales (ttt, ftr, xenos)	These are expected to be significant. A higher *xenos* indicating positive appreciation of others and their beliefs suggests a greater openness to others of different faith and a more active involvement in forms of peacemaking which involve relationships with those outside. This, however, could be blocked by high *ttt*. Higher *ftr* may be associated with roles connected with fairness, such as negotiating.
Community Health Scale (CommHealth)	The war in Sri Lanka has traumatised many. This scale is a measure of ability to make decisions and plans, communicate, and deal with community conflict. A higher score is expected to translate into a greater ability to participate in activities outside the daily routines of community life and so could have a possible effect on peacemaking participation.
State in Religious Life (RelState, recoded as RelStateReduced)	There could be differences between sisters, friars and Secular Franciscans. Within the friars there were very few ordained ($n = 3$), and a substantial part of the unordained friars were in seminary on the track towards ordination, so all friars have been combined. There were very few male Secular Franciscans ($n = 4$) so they have been combined with the female Secular Franciscans. The original State in Religious Life scale was accordingly recoded to form the Religious State Reduced scale.
Current age (CurrAge)	Current age is expected to be possibly significant. Age may bring greater wisdom, tolerance and openness. Or it may work the opposite way. Some of the younger participants had possibly not joined before May 2009 so if they answered to pre-May 2009 activities they were not Franciscans at that time.
Number of members living in current community (CommMbrs)	The expected effect of this is uncertain. It may also be related to community health and possibly also to locale. Larger convents are likely to be in cities. Rural presence is likely to be in small households, although some small communities are in cities.
Diocese (recoded as "Prov")	Many friars and sisters move frequently, so it is hard to associate this factor with pre-2009 activities, since participants may have moved dioceses since then. A number of the dioceses had only one or two participants. As an alternative the dioceses have been recoded into a Province variable, based on the substantially coterminous Sri Lankan administrative Provinces (Eastern, Northern, Central and Western). The smaller dioceses have been grouped into Other.
Ethnicity (Eth)	It is uncertain how this may affect participation in peacemaking activities. This effect may be compounded with the effect of the dominant ethnicity of the surrounding area.
Education (Edu)	It could be expected that a higher level of education will be more likely to lead to greater participation in events outside one's own immediate context such as dialogue with other religions. On the other hand, a higher level of education may be linked with more specialised professional ministries which could be more demanding of time.
Country of birth (BirthCountry)	Some participants had recorded their birth country by name, others had simply written "overseas," concerned over preservation of anonymity. The overseas-born fell into two distinct groups: (a) longer term in Sri Lanka and in leadership or formation roles; (b) shorter term for study or experience.
Locale (Locale)	There may be an effect on participation in forms of peacemaking depending on being in a village-, town- or city-based community.

Rather than test a multiplicity of models on each of the 30 possible combinations of peacemaking activity and period, a minimal model (Model 1) of the possible variables: RSS, Community Health, Religious State Reduced, and Education was used on each of these combinations to see where further analysis could be useful. Those peacemaking forms for which at least one RSS factor was possibly significant are summarised in Table 6-5 (p. 171), with various values for model fit. The Beta value used is Exp(B); a value of less than one indicates a negative relationship, and greater than one a positive relationship. (With a positive relationship an increase in the variable concerned is linked to an increase in the probability of participation in that peacemaking activity. In a negative relationship an increase in the variable is linked to a decrease in the probability of that peacemaking activity). *p* values are two-tailed.

Table 6-5: Self-reported Participation in Peacemaking Activities Regressed on RSS Subscales, Community Health, Religious State Reduced, Education (Model 1)

		*Model Fit**			*RSS Factors with significant relationships (Exp(B) and two-tailed p).*
		OS	R^2	HL	
Advocacy	Pre**	.04	.18	.59	*ttt* .82 (<.01)
	Post	.03	.18	.49	
	Curr	.16	.12	.47	
Intermediary	Pre	.32	.11	.75	*ttt* .85 (.04)
	Post	<.01	.25	.71	*ttt* .87 (.03)
	Curr	.09	.15	.58	*xenos* 1.18 (.03)
Observer	Pre	.05	.19	.34	
	Post	.43	.10	.80	
	Curr	.08	.15	.72	*xenos* 1.16 (.05)
Education	Pre	.27	.11	.26	
	Post	<.01	.25	.30	
	Curr	.10	.14	.05	*xenos* 1.17 (.03)
Facilitating Understanding	Pre	.09	.16	.46	
	Post	.10	.14	.82	*ttt* .82 (<.01); *xenos* 1.16 (.04)
	Curr	<.01	.29	.97	*xenos* 1.37 (<.01)
Nonviolent Action	Pre	.34	.11	.45	
	Post	.11	.17	.03	*ttt* .85 (.04); *xenos* 1.27 (.02)
	Curr	.10	.15	.97	*xenos* 1.16 (.05)
Dialogue other religions	Pre	<.01	.31	.63	*ttt* .77 (<.01)
	Post	<.01	.26	.73	
	Curr	.04	.17	.33	*xenos* 1.16 (.05)
Dialogue other Christians	Pre	.04	.17	.69	
	Post	.06	.20	.24	
	Curr	.21	.11	.74	*xenos* 1.12 (.03)
Liturgical activities	Pre	.22	.12	.74	*ttt* .865 (.02)
	Post	.01	.21	.82	
	Curr	<.01	.26	.77	*xenos* 1.19 (.03)
Spiritual activities	Pre	.18	.12	.45	*ttt* .88 (.04)
	Post	<.01	.32	.58	*ttt* .80 (<.01)
	Curr	<.01	.34	.28	*xenos* 1.33 (<.01)

RSS = Religious Schema Scale,
* Model fit values obtained in SPSS are OS, (the omnibus test of significance of model coefficients); R^2 (Nagelkerke R^2: a pseudo-R^2 value indicating the amount of variation in the dependent variable predicted by the model); and HL (Hosmer and Lemeshow test: a value greater than .05 indicates that the model's estimates are an acceptable fit to the observed data). ** 'Pre' indicates pre May 2009; 'Post' indicates May 2009-May 2013; 'Curr' indicates May 2013.
n = 110 (excluding 17 cases with missing data).

Those with significant relationships between RSS subscales and peacemaking activities for Model 1 were investigated further using Models 2 and 3, as described in Table 6-6 below.

Table 6-6: Models for Regression Analysis

	Model 1	***Model 2***	***Model 3***
RSS (*ttt*, *ftr*, *xenos*)	Included	Included	Included
CommHealth	Included	Included	Included
RelStateReduced	Included	Included	Included
CurrAge		Included	Included
CommMbrs			Included
Prov		Included	Included
Eth			Included
Edu	Included	Included	Included
Locale		Included	Included

Three other scales in the questionnaire were not included. *Age on Entry to Religious Life* was unlikely to be relevant, since it is highly linked to state of religious life. Almost all friars and sisters had joined in their late teens or early twenties and Secular Franciscans mostly in middle age. *Years Living in Current Community* was unlikely to be relevant for the sisters and friars, since almost all move within every five years or so, and this variable was not applicable for the Secular Franciscans. *Birth Country* was excluded since the *Ethnicity* scale recorded almost the same data.

The results of this logistic regression analysis were tabulated in Appendix 5 (p. 338 ff.) and summarised in Table 6-7 (p. 173), indicating the models (M1-M3) in which significant relationships were found.

Table 6-7: Significant Relationships between Religious Schema Subscales and Peace-making Activities

	ttt	*ftr*	*xenos*	*Other significant relationships (selected)*
Advocacy (Pre May 2009)	Neg (p <.01) M1 Neg (p =.02) M2			
Intermediary (Pre May 2009)	Neg (p =.04) M1			
Intermediary (May 2009–May 2013)	Neg (p =.03) M1 Neg (p =.05) M2			
Intermediary (Current)	Neg (p =.03) M3		Pos (p = .03) M1 Pos (p = .01) M2 Pos (p < .01) M3	Comm Health – Pos (p =.05) M2 Pos (p =.04) M3
Observer (Current)			Pos (p = .05) M1	Education - Pos (p = .05) M3
Education (Current)			Pos (p = .03) M1 Pos (p = .02) M2 Pos (p = .01) M3	Education - Pos (p = .05) M2 Pos (p = .03) M3
Facilitating Understanding (May 2009–May 2013)	Neg (p < .01) M1 Neg (p = .04) M2 Neg (p = .02) M3		Pos (p = .04) M1 Pos (p = .03) M3	
Facilitating Understanding (Current)			Pos (p < .01) M1 Pos (p < .01) M2	
Nonviolent Action (May 2009–May 2013)	Neg (p = .04) M1 Neg (p = .05) M2		Pos (p = .02) M1 Pos (p = .02) M2	
Nonviolent Action (Current)			Pos (p = .05) M1 Pos (p = .05) M2 Pos (p < .01) M3	Age - Neg (p = .02) M3
Dialogue with Other Religions (Pre May 2009)	Neg (p < .01) M1 Neg (p < .01) M2 Neg (p < .01) M3			Comm Health - Neg (p = .03) M1 Education - Pos (p = .03) M1 Pos (p = .04) M2 Pos (p = .03) M3
Dialogue with Other Religions (Current)			Pos (p = .05) M1 Pos (p = .05) M1 Pos (p = .03) M1	Comm Health - Pos (p = .05) M3
Dialogue with Other Christians (Current)			Pos (p = .03) M1 Pos (p = .04) M2 Pos (p = .03) M3	
Liturgical Activities (Pre May 2009)	Neg (p = .02) M1			

Liturgical Activities (Current)		Pos (p = .03) M1 Pos (p = .05) M2 Pos (p = .02) M3	
Spiritual Activities (Pre May 2009)	Neg (p = .04) M1 Neg (p = .02) M3		Age - Pos (p = .05) M2 Pos (p = .04) M3
Spiritual Activities (May 2009–May 2013)	Neg (p < .01) M1 Neg (p = .01) M2		
Spiritual Activities (Current)		Pos (p < .01) M1 Pos (p < .01) M2 Pos (p < .01) M3	Age - Neg (p = .04) M3

The questionnaires asked about participation in ten different peacemaking activities, over three time periods. The logistic regression analysis here showed a general pattern across many of these activity and period combinations of statistically significant relationships between two of the RSS subscales and reported peacemaking activity, after controlling for a number of demographic variables. Specifically, these relationships were:

1. A negative relationship between the *truth of text and teachings* subscale and reported peacemaking activity. In other words, a person who scored higher on that subscale, an indication of a more religiously fundamentalist approach, was less likely to report participating in peacemaking activities. In particular, the finding was that the more fundamentalist style of faith was negatively correlated with five of the peacemaking activities during the time of active conflict, and with four activities in the years immediately after the end of hostility.
2. A positive relationship between the *xenosophia* subscale and reported peacemaking activity. A person with a higher score on that subscale, an indication of having a positive appreciation of the wisdom of other religious traditions, was more likely to report participation in peacemaking activities. In particular, the finding was that this score was positively related to two of the immediately post-war peacemaking activities and nine types of activities being carried out at the time of the research.

The *fairness, tolerance and rational choice* subscale was not significantly related to any of the peacemaking activity responses. This was an unexpected result and hard to explain. Possibly for many of the participants who had suffered during the war

(especially the Tamils) the values of that scale were not salient. It may also be the case that this scale did not tap relevant differences for a group of "religious professionals."

6. 4. 4 Comparison of Qualitative and Quantitative Data

Particular participants in the interviews or group discussions cannot be matched individually with particular questionnaire responses or vice versa, so there is no direct comparison between qualitative and quantitative data at the participant level. Nevertheless, general characteristics can be compared between the two data sets for each of the peacemaking activities. An overall examination of these showed similar results across all the forms of peacemaking. Rather than considering them all, a selection of five different peacemaking activities has been made from those for which both qualitative and quantitative data are available. These cover a range of forms of involvement, some inherently religious in nature, others not.

6. 4. 4. 1 Being an Intermediary

This was defined in the questionnaire as including "fact finding, aiding communications, peace-process advocacy, facilitation, conciliation, mediation." It is a role which, by definition, requires active participation, even insertion between two conflicting parties. This calls for resilience and maturity in personal faith, as well as the ability to see things from various viewpoints and to frame new ways of looking at what might, to the conflicting parties, seem to be irreconcilable positions.

The logistic regression analysis suggested that those of more fundamentalist attitudes were less likely to engage in this, unlike those with more open attitudes.

Although 31% of the survey participants reported having been intermediaries between May 2009 and the date of the survey (May 2013), there were only a few participants in the interviews or group discussions who spoke of this work in response to general questions such as "what work have you done for peace?", "tell me more about that"). This may be because this work was often highly confidential and risky at the time. Perhaps also in the group discussions there was a tendency for individual participants not to want to describe themselves in over-heroic terms. Several participants described how they had worked as translators, making use of their linguistic abilities.

However, several participants illustrated their faith in particular ways. One was a friar who worked as a mediator between Tamil internees and Sinhalese military and police. When people asked if he was Tamil or Sinhalese he replied, "human … Tamil and Sinhalese is the language … I am just human." He was accused by each side of supporting the other, but replied to his accusers that he was "helping only [those] suffering." Later, he said, people came to see that he was a trustworthy mediator. His approach showed an attitude which looked for a wider, more universal, perspective; that of being human. Conflict, by focusing on what separates, can define people instead by the differences. Despite this wider perspective his faith was not neutral. Rather he "made use … [of] each and every opportunity to convey the love of God, that Jesus loves." Despite his "own weakness" he wished to show that "he [Jesus] is very kind where I approach you" (F03). After describing how he built up a relationship of trust he described how he was able to speak on behalf of the Tamils and advise the army on how they could be safely resettled.

S06 was an older sister who was active more in the early period of the war when she and other sisters of various congregations went to live in the camps with internally displaced Tamils fleeing from Sinhalese violence. The sisters temporarily abandoned their usual habit and wore the same clothing as the women they were among. They also adopted a lifestyle much more flexible than that of the convents they had come from. She had to encounter threats of violence from both LTTE (who had infiltrated the camp) and also the Sri Lankan army who suspected her of being a Tamil terrorist. An army captain who came with 400 troops one morning at 4am, a Buddhist who was ignorant of the sisters' Catholic identity, asked her (in English—he had assumed she was Tamil, although she was Sinhalese) why she was in this camp. She replied, likewise in English, "because of the poor people. They have no homes." The officer told her, "get out from this place, otherwise you will be with the bullet. The bullet will come on you." She told him "I don't mind. … I don't mind the bullet." Asked who she working for, she replied, "We are working for Jesus." He asked her her "nationality." She replied "Sinhalese" to which he told her (in Sinhala) to "go back to Colombo." The sisters remained in that camp for another year, continuing to be among the people. The encounter summarised here confuses languages, religions, and cultures. Or rather, it was the officer who was confused. The sisters, who were certainly not submissive, kept the upper hand with a faith able to engage with others, and which yet was non-negotiable. They had, with proper permission, crossed the

boundary dividing "convent" from "outside" and formed a new way of living as Christians among other faiths. The fearless sister kept the upper hand with a non-negotiable and courageous faith.

The voices of these intermediaries reflect something of the *xenosophia* of the Religious Schema Scale. They did not dilute their Catholic faith, but were open and creative in being with those of other faiths, even when physically threatened. They were sustained by a broad vision of the universal humanity of all people. For them, their faith was not a narrow certainty in which to take refuge (as would be typical of the fundamentalist orientation of the *ttt* subscale), but a base on which they stood with the confidence to embrace others.

6. 4. 4. 2 Education

This was defined in the questionnaire as "training others in conflict resolution, democracy, or living with diversity; increasing awareness of injustice, or promoting healing and reconciliation." The only statistically significant relationship found was for such activities being conducted at the time of the survey in May 2013. This indicated a positive relationship between *xenosophia* and the likelihood of reporting "education" as a peacemaking activity. One of the co-variants, "Education" (i.e. education level attained by respondent) was also positively linked with "education" as peacemaking activity. This may be because most of those who spoke of education as a form of peacemaking were themselves teaching in schools, and therefore had attained a certain level of education.

Sister S04 was, with several other sisters, running programmes for children in their area, many of whom had suffered trauma during the final months of the war. She found there was already some feeling of "togetherness" in the children, meaning they could "relate to one another." This was a starting point for them to build on values such as forgiveness. For her, Francis was "a man of peace and forgiveness and bringing people together and all that." She found in the children a "painful feeling, more than [a] hurt feeling," and an emotional numbness, lacking any feeling towards others. Francis was an "inspiration … to tell the people not to lose hope." She felt that the children needed to work gradually, "we cannot take out that pain at once," but they worked with the children to build on "sources you know to live with," such as beauty and positive things in nature like their gardens and vegetables. "Something like that so that they … get something fresh

in their mind." For her, "there is a connection between Francis and our Franciscan values and … then these people." She saw their role as bringing out the awareness of these things, "to help them [get] a little more awareness."

Many participants spoke of the difficulty of promoting peace without using the word "peace." For example, a group of sisters of congregation S2 were asked what Franciscans could do in today's world. One of them felt that all Franciscans of different congregations could join forces and "go out and speak … preschools, schools and all, you can organise something and you can speak." She added that this needed to be done "indirectly" because of the need of informing police and army when they speak in schools. The indirect means they found included meetings with students' parents to "speak about peace and reconciliation" (S07). Another sister in the same discussion observed that preschools were better places to start, because "two or three different language groups are there, and different religious groups are there, Hindus, Buddhists and Christians" (S08). When they meet parents these different groups come together, but from primary school onwards the schools are ethnically separated. Other sisters, at a different group discussion, told of trying to promote a spirit of care towards nature and forgiveness towards each other in the preschool, not only among the children, training them to "say sorry," but also towards the armed forces. "I … tell them … they are our brothers, they are all brothers. … When I say brothers, even the teachers are shocked like that. … We have different ways from them, and then, still they are brothers, our brothers and sisters" (S09). Sister S10 believed that "Francis always wanted to—reform the church," and so she wanted to rebuild society. "Our way of looking at society that is maybe a sort of small society of 20, 30, 40, 50 families also … where … the value system is broken. Everything is sort of destabilised." She hoped that "by our presence, by our talk, by our very presence here can be sort of thing can look towards bringing them a little stability in their own, in their own small units. Where the father really works for the family and the mother really works for the family, the good of the children." She felt that family life, thus stabilised, "can look beyond their material things into something else, into a value system. Into spirituality."

Some sisters were working in programmes to promote local "zones of peace" inspired by a vision of peace spreading from individuals to families to villages and wider. "There is something to know like among the children if there is some problems, now like we handle them peacefully. Not reject people. … Like a compassionate love for them.

And then make peace between the persons with whom we are living in the small ways." When problems arose between the children they brought them together for special programmes, offering training in peaceful living. "Like an art of living and how through meditation, through breathing, through these things." These are "small little things organized to create that zone of peace, because we have children, young girls from broken families. They have a lot of difficulties to live in harmony. So we want to make them to experience that." These programmes are not "big scale saying that we are doing something for peace, but in different small small ways … they bring about that change in their atmosphere and all that" (S04).

There were fewer participating friars working in education, but one of them observed that priests were working in the schools "because as a religious [friar] I think that that is something to make good people for the country." His experience was with cultural and sporting programmes to promote peaceful values, "so that way, we teach them how to live in peacefully, not only the winning part, … sports is a another way we can spread peace." Education also gave the means, through the children, to "speak to the parents" (F07).

It was not possible to observe a direct causal link between participants' faith and their involvement in peace education. However, many of the values they spoke of were those of a faith engaged with the world and not afraid of difference. Rather than a fundamentalist approach relying on teaching fixed religious propositions they showed flexibility in responding to cross-religious situations. In meeting those of other religions they spoke of shared values and actions such as fostering togetherness, practising forgiveness and healing, caring for each other, seeing beauty in nature, seeking positive things, developing awareness and self-reflexivity in others, finding creative ways round difficulties, working in small ways, and being aware of universal human connection. These are not specifically religious values but the actors who expressed them were visibly religious and often spoke of the religious origins (such as inspiration by Francis or Jesus) of their actions.

6. 4. 4. 3 Facilitating Understanding between Parties in Conflict

The questionnaire suggested examples of this form of peacemaking as meeting for dialogue and working together at common projects. Like the other peacemaking activities this also had significant correlations with the RSS subscales; negatively with the fundamentalist attitude of *ttt* and positively with the open attitude of *xenosophia* for the period between May 2009 and May 2013, and for those currently engaging in such activity, a positive correlation with *xenosophia*.

Interview and discussion group participants spoke about various forms of meeting to facilitate understanding.

Some were programmes such as camps to bring together Tamil and Sinhalese youth. A Sinhalese friar, living in a predominantly Tamil area, had arranged a programme to bring Tamil youth to Colombo for a few days by which they "came to know each other and they exchanged their values, and their thinking patterns, and it was a nice experience for them" (F04). Such programmes seem to have a short-term "feel-good" effect; their long-term effectiveness is not evaluated here.

Others worked in longer-term ways with those living around them. One sister, a Tamil, noticed the same two Hindu boys coming to play at the convent every Sunday evening. She knew that they had lost parents or had other family problems and told them, "This is the place for you all to make happy each other." They need, she said, "to notice they are one people, God's people." The problem between Tamils she observed was the caste system. "Here, I said, '… you mustn't bring that caste system here. You all must think that we are friends.' I said, 'Come together.' Then they will come each other and will come. … Then I say something. They listen to me" (S01).

A friar in Colombo observed that since Christian churches included Tamils, Sinhalese and Burghers among their members when they worshipped together they were a witness to unity, despite differences in language. "We can play a greater role in bringing together people and speaking to them about the peace, about reconciliation about the right of each individual, about the image of God in which man is created because I think that is the basis of our human dignity for us Christians." This observation would be truer of areas which had mixed congregations. He felt that this was "a platform" where the Church "could do a greater part in bringing together people" (F02).

A number of participants spoke of inter-ethnic contact arranged as part of the initial formation of friars and sisters as helping overcome prejudices and also for the witness of ethnic unity it could give to others. One friar (working mainly in formation) felt that preparing people for dialogue across ethnicities was even more important than inter-religious understanding. "Sinhala knowing the Tamil. Tamil knowing the Sinhala." He reported on how hard it was for a particular student friar who was Tamil to go to a Sinhalese area and preach in Sinhala. "And he was surprised. Not only as he was speaking, he found also the how the Sinhalese accept and how they live in peace in that parish. He didn't know. That Sinhalese and Tamils can live together peacefully." The young friar, from the North, knew only other Tamils and held prejudiced attitudes to Sinhalese. "But he saw them living together, he was changed." The initial training period of formation was important in this. "Here we have both Sinhala and Tamil students, and I see them going, going out, mingling, speaking and all that. … And I think that is the best way to do witness, Franciscan witness in this country I believe. We, both of us working together and living together" (F08). Another friar who was arranging some formation experiences for new members of his congregation, all Sinhalese, had sent them for a weeklong visit to a rehabilitation programme for war-wounded Tamil youth. "It's a very very sad thing to go and see this place. Witness to what the sufferings of the people. So we send them for a whole week, and to be with them. They don't have much to do, but we thought it's important for they to be with them." At first the Tamil youth rejected the Sinhalese, seeing them as the enemy, "But after some time, you know they start to talk, and they became friends. At the end of the week they were like you know they were sharing a lot of things with each other, they became friends, and they could even keep some kind of communication with them" (F02).

Such witness was not without difficulty. One friar, aware that his congregation's ministries with children could be misinterpreted as conversion, observed that children of different religions and ethnicities were "coming together," something he saw as "doing something—mission for the peace." But this could not be publicised. However, just helping "Sinhalese, Tamils, and religion differences" to live together was their mission; "sharing everybody equal" (F09). Another difficulty experienced by sisters and friars from overseas was that for some their lack of language gave them little opportunity to promote the dialogue they wished for. Some sisters, newly arrived in Sri Lanka, were trying to

develop relationships with those living nearby and "try[ing] not to be biased, ... to listen to both sides." In their "simplicity …try[ing] to balance everything … not to judge immediately." They had already experienced that in the long-established divisions of Sri Lanka people were quick to judge and to further divide. This sister was shocked to hear a young Sinhalese woman, a potential recruit to their congregation, telling her "I'm happy to be with Sinhalese, but I don't like Tamils." The sister reflected, "already there is a sign that there is something already in the story, the history, that this person, that seems so nice, so cute, so *good*. But, the past things there, no." She let the young woman speak and reflected on it. "Then the way that we do it in is first to listen, also not to attack them because they will not open any more also. And then slowly. Then okay you know it from the other side. The other side also has some things" (S11).

The conflict within Franciscan communities could also be a source of division. One friar told of three brothers, "always, whenever they come for a meeting, they will fight like enemies, deadly enemies, like fighting in the church." He tried to reconcile them. "They say that I am spiritual. I am praying, a prayerful person and a good brother. … So they started to obey my words. Slowly, they gave up all their enmity between them, and slowly now, it's okay somewhat, it's okay." This friar attributed his success to God, "I everything offer to God. Lord. You are the person who should be interfere here. You should give me courage to go ahead. Because I found my mission so very tough, but I will go ahead" (F03).

There was little faith language explicitly here, but there are some fundamental attitudes potentially related to an open engaged faith, such as recognising universal values, seeing good in others, recognising common humanity, being patient, understanding some of the root causes for conflict, being prepared for the hard work of dismantling prejudices. On the other hand, some of the processes engaged in for facilitating understanding seemed to be more that of pacification rather than addressing the root causes.

6. 4. 4. 4 Dialogue with Other Religions

Participants were asked if they had taken part in dialogue with other religions as a form of peacemaking. For brevity the questionnaire gave no further explanation. Similarly to the other forms of peacemaking, there were some statistically significant relationships between the Religious Schema Scale subscales and dialogue with other religions as

a form of peacemaking. RSS *truth of text and teachings* had a negative effect on interfaith dialogue in two of the time periods, in other words a higher score on the *ttt* subscale (associated with religious fundamentalism) was associated with lower likelihood of participating in interfaith dialogue while controlling for other variables. Conversely, education had a statistically significant positive effect for the same two time periods, an attainment of a higher level of education was more likely to be associated with an increased participation in interfaith dialogue. RSS *xenosophia* had a positive effect on current reported interfaith dialogue. The connection between education and engagement in interfaith dialogue is an interesting finding. Education may provide the skills and understanding for such dialogue, as well as enabling a sister or friar to be in a situation where such dialogue is possible. Both community health and locale had a significant positive effect on participation in current interfaith dialogue, but not for the other two time periods. Those in communities with healthier relationships and greater ability to communicate and solve problems as well as those in more urban areas were more likely to be currently engaged in interfaith dialogue.

In the interviews the participants detailed ways in which they experienced other religions and dialogue with them. Some had encounters with other faiths during their times of initial training, though perhaps more directed towards learning about "the other"; a few, while still Franciscans, had spent periods living in monastic communities of other religions as a "dialogue of life" in which they would experience each other person to person, rather than in the abstract. Many Franciscans, through their work such as education or medicine, ministered among people of other religions. Some took part in organised dialogues. Some spoke of the possibility of evangelisation through witness of life, but none regarded themselves as proselytising.

Interfaith relationships in Sri Lanka are complex. Buddhists and Hindus are divided ethnically and linguistically. Christians straddle both ethnicities and languages, but are a minority within each. Muslims are also a minority, and regarded as ethnically separated. Many participants in the interviews and group discussions spoke positively of interfaith dialogue, or more generally of interfaith relationships. Often this took the form of exposure to other religions in initial formation of new entrants.

Sister S20 told of how a specialist in Buddhism or Hinduism would come and teach the sisters, and then take them to visit a temple or kovil, explaining about their way

of praying and meditating. Another sister of the same congregation observed that each religion had much the same value system and since "nobody likes violence," the sisters were in a position to convince others that "violence is not a ... solution" (S21).

There seemed fewer opportunities for contact with Islam, but one sister spoke of being invited to meet Muslims for dialogue and to experience a Ramadan meal. She reflected on how Francis learnt "a lot of things" from his encounter with Islam[119] as she observed how friendly her own experience had been. She found it a positive experience feeling that "we have lot of things to learn from the other religion" (S04).

These views are perhaps more learning *about* other religions, but some have more deliberately immersed themselves, for example by staying for periods in temples. One friar lived in a Buddhist monastery for a period. "In many ways I think Buddhism has also expanded my vision of reality. And making me more … universal." This same friar organised exposure to other religions as part of the training for post-novices, arranging for them to stay in a Buddhist monastery to better experience the life of the monks there. (He was also looking for ways to develop relationships with kovils and mosques). He found this was important in helping his students "break certain biases from direct contact with the people." Dialogue, he said, built on some basic knowledge of another religion. It is not dialogue "*with* the religion, but we dialogue with the concrete people who profess that religion." He experienced that the Franciscan values of non-appropriation and of valuing relationship with nature were close to Buddhism, as was the way of discipleship. This friar was a man of a high level of formal education who had studied not only his own religion, but in particular, Buddhism. He referred to a Buddhist teacher who had influenced him personally. "Then he would say you come here, not to be converted to Buddhism. You come here to search for the truth, to find the truth. If you don't have a religion, then try to find out what is the religion that you will follow." Dialogue was possible only by finding out the "route, the core, the core of that religion" (F10). Immersion in such dialogue called for maturity and depth of faith as well as the ability to live with the challenges it raised.

Some participants spoke of their perception of how dialogue influenced the non-Christian partner. A sister in Colombo quoted a Buddhist woman she knew as saying, "I

119. Francis of Assisi and his meeting in 1219 with the Sultan Malek-al-Kamil at Damietta during the Fifth Crusade.

learned Buddhism from Sister. … She said you know there are so many professionals, but their personal life is not going together you know. … But she said the true things that in your life, the professionalism, and your personal life go together. It is one life" (S16). As the sister recollected it, it was the integrity of her life and belief which helped the other woman be a better Buddhist.

The experiences of encountering other religions were not always positive. Several participants felt that Christianity was distinguished from other religions as the only one which spoke of forgiveness. Some seemed to be boosting their own faith by negative comparison with others. One friar observed that Buddhist monks "have to be peaceful" and self-controlled; "they are doing the meditation you know." But their public image he felt was violent. "You can see, no, they are violent, they have shouting" (F09). For others it was simply that other religions were regarded as lacking the fullness of their own. "Then, when I will compare with them so I'm far away from that, so I don't want to give up that faith" (F03). For that friar, "if I leave the truth, it cannot be a solution for my answer."

Some difficulties in interfaith relationships arose from memories of the first Franciscans in Sri Lanka who came with the Portuguese colonisers in the 16th century. "[The] animosity which the Buddhists have towards Catholics was compounded by the attitude, at least of some friars who … destroyed temples and other things. And made them into churches and so forth" (F10). Other difficulties came for some overseas born friars and sisters who, though familiar with inter-religious dialogue in their own countries, still lacked confidence or opportunity for it in Sri Lanka. "Here in Sri Lanka it's entirely a different area. The way we work is different and it's for us, it's also another country. They have a different religious set up here. The communities are different, and these are the areas where we have to be very, very careful in Sri Lanka" (F02).

Other difficulties with interfaith relationships came from local disputes such as over boundaries. One friar spoke of Buddhists near their friary who were "fighting" with the brothers over a land dispute. Another friar helped solve the dispute; "we must do as like St Francis" (F05). Other disputes arose over enrolment of non-Catholics in Catholic-run schools and through increased government control of church-run institutions such as orphanages. In several of the sites visited this conflict seemed to return to the members of the community, feeding internal conflict.

Rather than dialogue, many participants simply spoke of *presence* among those of other faiths. For most, this was a positive experience and void of any perceived suspicion of proselytisation. They regarded themselves, as Franciscans, as being among peers, and felt they were equally regarded in return. A sister in the North, in a largely Hindu rural area, felt that because of her faith, "everybody is you know my brother or sister." The sisters met with people in the village and asked them what they would like the sisters to do. They said, "we like we are very happy to be with you when you are here. … you will just to listen to us, that's all we need for the moment. We need somebody to listen, somebody to be with us, to support us" (S04). Likewise, a sister of a different congregation spoke of visiting detainees in a camp. "They will not perceive the religion" (S22). Like the experience of the sister quoted above, "They will come and share with us when they see, when we go to the camp. They will run and come to us. And that just, they want to say their story. If we stay somewhere they will come to us and say." The people just ask for someone to listen to them. "Because to get *some* strength for some relief for them" (S22).

This presence with others was expressed in theological terms of incarnation by one overseas born sister:

> It's challenging because we are going to a Buddhist country. We are Catholic, we are in minority there. But also as Franciscan how also, make presence, and peaceful, joyful presence of Jesus. … It's a Buddhist country. Many things also new. To know, and to go with. To incarnate maybe. … What is the meaning also for us to come, and to go with in and there in this. It's not to bring what we have. And then to put here, no. To go, is an incarnation (S11).

In Christian terms incarnation refers to God taking human flesh in the body of Jesus Christ. For this sister it seemed that she regards the presence of Franciscans, in a "peaceful, joyful" way, not as bringing in something external, but in the very act of "going" somewhere as being, in some way, the presence of Christ.

In a country whose conflict has been along religious-ethic lines, accusations of proselytisation can acquire a dangerous energy. The participants interviewed were very careful to distance themselves from any suspicion of this. "Their great problem is they think sometime conversion. But they know that Catholic Church is not converting. Only the [Christian] fundamentalists are converting" (F07). However, when there is confusion between the different Christian churches, then problems have arisen. A related NGO

worker interviewed observed the sharper edge when the service offered by Christians included material provision. “It’s a difficult one because you are improving people’s state in life, or giving them more chances to cope, or giving them greater resilience to deal with all the problems that come along. We do that, purely, and totally with the love of Christ. But, without expecting … a response of conversion.” His faith was based on understanding the “supreme good of God is the freedom that is in God.” A religious hard sell was “actually diminishing God, because we are showing a God who diminishes freedom.” Nevertheless, refraining from proselytisation did not mean abstaining from a positive faith witness, “It’s a fine line between the hard sell and not doing it at all. This time I—would, if the opportunity poses itself, … enter to the dialogue.”

Relationships between Franciscans and those of other faiths in Sri Lanka are potentially fraught. The data suggest that some, drawing on their own spiritual resources, have found creative ways to express these relationships in ways which respect the integrity of all involved. For some this was a positive appreciation of some of the practices of another religion. Others entered more deeply into the experience of other religions, seeking “dialogue of life” with other believers. Some felt that their witness as “professional religious people” had been a positive influence on others. For some this was expressed simply as “presence,” a term which can carry deep theological meanings. Other Franciscans seemed more caught by the immediacy of local disputes, or found the difficulties in relationships with other religions prevented much positive appreciation of them.

6. 4. 4. 5 Spiritual Activities

The questionnaire suggested meditation or fasting for peace as forms of spiritual activities for peace. These activities are essentially individual, although possibly carried out concurrently with others. The logistic regression suggested a similar relationship between the Religious Schema Scale subscales and peacemaking through spiritual activities as with the other activities considered above. Generally speaking, *truth of text and teachings* had a negative effect on participation in spiritual activities for peace, while *xenosophia* had a positive effect on current participation, suggesting that more mature faith is related to greater participation in spiritual activities for peacemaking. Age also had a positive effect on participation pre-May 2009, but a negative effect on current participation.

This could reflect the spiritual activities pre-May 2009, during the war, having been carried out by older more experienced members, and not by the younger members (who possibly had not even become Franciscans at that stage). Conversely, perhaps the younger members were now more likely to be practising such things, perhaps as part of their formation.

A Sinhalese sister told of how she responded to a request from Tamil refugees in a camp to lead them in a meditation:

> We want to make meditation. So they are Hindus, no. They said, Sister, we usually turn to the sun. So I said, okay. Turn to the sun. Then I made a meditation, I tell them. You know the sun is there, the moon is there, now there is another power behind the sun and the moon. Without saying God. We can't say God. So that power, let us ask that power to help us (S06).

This sister showed a depth of confidence in negotiating barriers and differences.[120] Although a Sinhalese, she was comfortable with leading a meditation for Tamils, and although a Catholic, was able to find a common language with Hindus. Her faith was a kind of "primed imagination," able to respond flexibly to a new challenge.

Interview and group discussion participants however did not refer much to spiritual activities specifically directed to peace, (this information was not specifically asked for). However, they did speak of how their spirituality, drawing on Christian and Franciscan insights, interacted with their concerns for peace and reconciliation.

In Franciscan theology, God is primarily experienced as abundant goodness, and the work of the spiritual journey is to overcome all that mars the experience of that goodness. An older friar, experienced in interfaith relationships, expressed it in terms of a sharing of this goodness.

> It's to be touched by the goodness of God, so that wherever that goodness is not shared, it's not—experienced by people. Then we have to go in there and see to it that what prevents that *good* to be shared has to be—sort of dismantled. And the dismantling is harder. It's really the dismantling of the mind and heart (F10).

This spirituality begins with human experience of the divine as source of goodness, and then leads to the realisation that whatever is preventing that goodness from being shared is not something external, but rather something fundamentally inwards—

120. She is also referred to above in section 6.4.4.1 on her role as intermediary.

the mind and heart. It seeks the conversion of these which this friar describes as "dismantling." This inner healing then leads back outwards to a sharing of God's goodness in seeking healing with others and is thus a source of peacemaking.

A Tamil sister spoke of the challenge of knowing this personal woundedness and yet also desiring to bring healing to others.

> When we see others suffering, that our woundedness even to the people, that also bring them some healing, some healing for the people. And we are even with the Word of God. … Inspire[d] from the Word of God, whatever inspired, we tell our life experience. And then we bring that even though we are really sharing our life experience, we also say that 'To have faith in God, he will never leave you alone, he will be there beside you. Even if you go through the tough struggles, suffering, he will never leave you alone, only to have faith in the Lord and go to him and tell all your worries' (S02).

This sister suggested that even if the sisters shared the "woundedness" of their own life journeys, then that was a starting point able to help others find some healing and sharing their life experience with others could be a sign to them that God remains present in the midst of suffering.

Two other sisters, more recently arrived in Sri Lanka, spoke of their Franciscan spirituality as being "to look for peace, and to enter into the dimension of Jesus on the cross." Jesus forgave his enemies on the cross, and so the cross became a "place of forgiveness to those are the perpetrator of the situations," and thus a place of peace and reconciliation (S11). The search for peace they articulated was a human journey, yet one strengthened by God's grace. "No matter what happened in my life, and then the peace is there because I walk, I walk with this, with this process. … In my … journey, God is there. And my humanity is there. At the same time, I because of the grace of God, I would endure everything" (S12).

The Tamil sister quoted above (S02) spoke of her own sufferings, but these two sisters (S11, S12), still new to Sri Lanka, had not been present during the active period of the war. Their language was more focused on the cross of Christ as a place of forgiveness and reconciliation, and the human journey as embodiment of God's presence.

These are individual expressions of faith, but one friar touched on the potential contribution of Franciscan spirituality to peacemaking if Franciscans mobilised together as a family.

> The Franciscan family has to be … organised better as a family, [so] that we can respond better to the situation if we are a family. If we see that this is not strange to us specially in a situation like this. I think the Franciscan charism has *much* to contribute. We don't say that we monopolise it, but there is much that we can do (F10).

The potential contribution of Franciscan thought and spirituality to peacemaking will be considered below in Chapter 8.

6. 5 Discussion

The two propositions addressed in this chapter concern (a) faith and frame alignment and (b) faith and resource mobilisation as each relates to active peacemaking. Both the qualitative and the quantitative data show a variety of ways in which faith, through frame alignment and resource mobilisation, can contribute to active peacemaking.

6. 5. 1 Research Proposition 1: Faith and Frame Alignment

This research proposition, derived in Chapter 3 above, states that Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking will articulate a rationale for this built on key theological values and beliefs. This rationale will be orientated to the teaching of Jesus Christ. They will analyse the "signs of the times," and apply their faith in active engagement with the contemporary world, seeking transformation of structures which cause violence. Their peacemaking will remain committed despite opposition. They will relate to other religions not for proselytisation but for mutual enquiry and enrichment, recognising that they share with others many universal things such as the value of love and peace, and be able to engage in dialogue with others and seek reconciliation.

The forms of peacemaking selected in Section 6.4.4 above show some ways in which faith contributes to frame alignment responding to the needs of the surrounding world. For example, people working as intermediaries were able to respond to new challenges across barriers of ethnicity and religion such as the friar who defined his identity as "human" in the face of ethnic categorisation, or in the small community of sisters who formed a new way, outside the convent, of living amongst others. Those working in education as a form of peacemaking built programmes on what they felt to be *common* values, thus providing a bridge between their own and others' faiths. Facilitating understanding

between people was likewise often described as building a foundation of common understanding from which some change in attitudes could be effected. Dialogue with those of other religions perhaps most deeply touched on basic human identities. For some this was a more superficial "familiarisation" or just coming to appreciate the religious practices of others. A few however spoke of practicing interfaith relationships which led them, through a positive appreciation of the other, to a deeper commitment to their own faith and the confidence to share that faith, without attempting to proselytise. Even simple presence with others, or sharing personal woundedness with them, was positively interpreted by some in deeper theological terms. These cases illustrate ways in which a xenosophic faith contributes to being able to align the frame of religious praxis and belief with the deep-felt needs of others and to create new ways of responding to these needs through engagement with the world, transformation of unjust structures, and openness to the wisdom of other religions.

Personal struggle with faith is not measured by the Religious Schema Scale, but such struggle seemed to emerge at times in the interviews and is perhaps a significant issue in post-war Sri Lanka among those who have ministered professionally amongst the suffering, but who themselves have been wounded in some way by the conflict. Some of those who could be called wounded healers (see Section 5.3.3.1) framed their ministry around presence and listening, or directive forms of counselling.

6. 5. 2 Research Proposition 2: Faith and Resource Mobilisation

This research proposition, derived above in Chapter 3, states that Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking will have knowledge of their own scriptures and teachings (and perhaps something of other faiths as well). They will have the resilience to respond creatively to opposition. They will practice prayer, and find it strengthening and deepening. They will have the maturity of faith to give them a broader vision and the spiritual resources to engage in dialogue with those of other faiths.

This maturity of faith is summarised by a faith with a higher score for *xenosophia* and lower *truth of texts and teachings*. Reported active participation in various forms of peacemaking was found to be positively correlated with those aspects of faith relating to openness with others, and negatively correlated with attitudes of exclusivity or intoler-

ance, while controlling for other factors such as community health and demographic factors. Education was also found to be a significantly positive correlate for several of the forms of peacemaking.

These correlations were not necessarily causal; the research was not designed for testing causal relationships. However, it is possible to suggest there *could* be a causal relationship between higher levels of educational attainment leading to a greater openness to others, opportunities for new experiences, and reduction in fundamentalist attitudes. This could then lead to greater participation in religious forms of peacemaking. Other causal relationships could also be suggested. For example, a more extensive and deeper encounter with others in peacemaking activities (perhaps undertaken as part of a community's ministry) could, through self-reflection, lead to a deeper faith. The essentially communal life of the friars and sisters, (and to an extent in the Secular Franciscans as well, although not living in community) could be a strong factor in mediating the relationships between faith and activity. Another possible causal link could be that "formation" (the initial period of training for new entrants), by providing challenging experiences and reflection on them, enables the newcomer to grow to a more mature faith capable of responding positively to such challenges as interfaith relationships.

This open attitude of faith generated resources for peacebuilding including knowledge (of own and others' faiths), the ability to interpret things theologically, and the experience of spiritual practice. Other resources included linguistic ability and the strength of personality to be able to respond creatively to difficulties, as well as simple *presence* as resource. This was perhaps most clearly seen in the dialogue with other religions in which some participants drew on their own spiritual resources so that dialogue became a "dialogue of life." Those able to find ways of being Christian which also held people of other faiths in deep respect seemed often to have found a creative energy which inspired them further in this dialogue.

As noted in the previous section, the Religious Schema Scale did not measure difficulties in faith. There were only a few participants who spoke of their struggles, and perhaps for them the resource of their faith helped them, as wounded struggling people, listen to the struggles of others.

Some of the other factors can also be interpreted as resources. For example, community health was a significant variable in several cases where it was negatively related

to dialogue with other religions *pre* May 2009, and positively related to *current* dialogue. Community health will be examined in relation to peacemaking in the following chapter.

Location can also be a resource. Rural/urban location had a slight effect in some forms of peacemaking, with urban participants more likely to have participated in peace-building processes than rural ones. There may be several explanations. Urban locations may provide more opportunities for formal, organised interfaith dialogue. There may be more educated people in urban communities, although since Franciscan sisters and friars frequently move from one local community to another this effect may be mitigated. On the other hand, rural communities (as shown in the interviews) can provide more opportunity for daily contact with those of other faiths. This can be positive or negative.

6. 6 Conclusion

This chapter, focusing on the relationship between faith and peacemaking, explored research propositions suggesting that those of mature faith, open to being enriched by other religions, and actively engaged with the world, will seek transformation of structures causing violence and that those who know their faith tradition well (e.g. its scriptures and teaching) and who are grounded in spiritual practices such as prayer will use faith as a resource to build resilience.

The first section overviewed the qualitative data, noting the significant ways in which faith language was used by participants and how central it was to many aspects of their lives. This was followed by an overview of the quantitative data from the Religious Schema Scale.

Cluster analysis and logistic regression analysis were used to analyse the quantitative data, and the qualitative data was used to explain and illustrate this analysis.

There were two main findings. (1) There was a negative relationship between the *truth of text and teachings* subscale and reported peacemaking activity. In other words, those with a score indicating a more religiously fundamentalist approach, were less likely to report participating in peacemaking activities. This was particularly so in the actual years of the conflict and immediately afterwards. (2) There was a positive relationship between the *xenosophia* subscale and reported peacemaking activity being currently carried out. A person with more positive appreciation of the wisdom of other religious traditions was more likely to report participation in such current peacemaking activities. These

findings were explored further for five specific forms of peacemaking: being an intermediary, education, facilitating understanding, dialogue with other religions and spiritual activities.

Unexpectedly, the *fairness, tolerance and rational choice* subscale was not significantly related to any of the peacemaking activity responses. This may have been because for many war-affected participants the values of that scale were not salient or that this scale did not tap relevant differences for a group of "religious professionals."

The discussion section noted that the data, both qualitative and quantitative, indicate that, apart from faith, other factors such as education were also involved either as resource or in contributing to frame alignment. The research propositions do not claim to exclude these factors, but rather to analyse how religious faith is related to participation in peacemaking. On the whole these two propositions are affirmed. However, although the quantitative data suggest that higher scores on the *truth of texts and teachings* subscale are related to decreased participation in forms of peacemaking, there is not really parallel qualitative data here.

An unexpected finding, although from fragmentary data, was that some who struggled with their faith were able to exercise forms of peacemaking which drew on those struggles and offered presence with others in their needs, in their humility sharing not much more than their woundedness. This sharing, although perhaps not a high-profile role or a radically engaged one, cannot be discounted since such a humble role can be seen as an engaged form of Franciscan peacemaking and to build an empathetic relationship.

Although there is no causal relationship established, the data suggest that for the Franciscans studied here their involvement as peacemakers is related to their faith, both for how their faith is able to contribute to the frame alignment to find ways to work for peace and reconciliation, and also as a resource able to give strength, vision and resilience.

Chapter 7 Living in Community

7. 1 Introduction

The previous chapter considered the role of faith in relation to active participation in religious forms of peacemaking and found that healthy functional relationships within local Franciscan communities were significantly related to some forms of peacemaking. This chapter explores further what religious community life means for peacebuilding, and draws on both qualitative and quantitative data to explore how the community life of the Franciscans in Sri Lanka connect to the two theoretical perspectives of frame alignment and resource mobilisation in relation to active peacemaking.

Arbuckle (1989), himself a member of a religious congregation and a social anthropologist, lists four distinct sociological definitions of community as:

1. "a clearly circumscribed locality or place, for example, a neighbourhood, village, city," (without reference to the people or their interactions),
2. "a local social system or social network, that is a set of social relationships that occur wholly or mostly within a locality,"
3. "a *quality* of relationship… better termed 'communion'" to emphasise "meaningful identity and shared experience" (without reference to locality),
4. "territorial quality *and* a sense of belonging." (27-28, italics in original).

To distinguish the possible distinctive features of *Franciscan* communities here it is first necessary to place them in the wider context of the forms of community life which developed in the Catholic Church. Arbuckle categorises these forms as the:

1. "'Ascetical' community," which has no apostolic work (or ministry) "with people *outside* the physical boundaries of the community locale." This element of fixed locality was essential to the monastic movement (e.g. Benedictine) which developed from the 6th century (Arbuckle 1989, 28-29, italics in original).
2. "'Relational' / 'mobile' community" whose "primary emphasis is in witnessing to the quality of relationships that should characterize a group of Christians who are living together according to the values of the gospel." Locality is not "an integral part of the definition of community." This model was historically created by the mendicant orders (Franciscans and Dominicans) in reaction to the communal wealth and power of the monasteries. "The radical poverty of St Francis was not primarily ascetical. It was

evangelical and Christological." This model has been a source not only for the mendicant orders but also for communities in their post-Vatican II reform. "Dialogue, sharing of faith experiences and supportive interaction are of primary importance … The superior's role is to co-ordinate or facilitate the interaction or dialogue between members." These communities need to be relatively small "in order to provide the space and time necessary for frequent, sustained, in-depth interaction between members." This style of community has a concern for the world around it, but evangelism is conducted "in and through the community" (29-30).

3. "'Mission' community," which has as its *primary* concern the "pastoral needs of the world beyond the community." The members of such a community "belong to a group of evangelizers who are prepared to help one another respond to the ever-changing and demanding pastoral needs of people 'out there.'" This style of community was pioneered by the Jesuits and Ursulines in order to meet the new needs of mission in the post-Reformation Church. "At times the pastoral needs may require that individual religious live alone or distant from their community." In this model the physical place is "in no way integral to the understanding of community," and as an early Jesuit leader described, "journeys … apostolic missions … are to be *the* example of the most perfect house for Jesuits" (30-31, italics in original).

Arbuckle concludes this overview by observing that although communities "proximate to one of the three models … elements of the other two models must be present to varying degrees" (31, italics in original).

7. 2 Fraternity / Sorority in Franciscan Values

In the *Testament* which Francis dictated shortly before his death he describes how he founded the order in response to the Lord giving him "some brothers" (FA:ED 1, 125).[121] In the early 13th century the existing forms of religious life provided distinct ways for men to live disciplined lives directed towards the attainment of spiritual perfection. *Monks* were those who gathered together in monasteries where they lived a communal and hierarchically ordered way of life, based round a sharing of labour and goods.

121. References to the scholarly three volume set of Franciscan sources, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* are given in the form of *FA:ED*, followed by volume and page number.

Collegial communities of priests known as *canons* served the pastoral needs of those living in Europe's newly growing urban areas, while those who felt drawn to live alone and maintain some degree of strict separation from the world were recognised as *hermits*. The brothers "sent by the Lord" to Francis did not belong to one of these established forms of life. They were neither monks, nor canons, nor hermits, although they had some features in common with each of these existing forms.

The key difference was that they were *mobile*, without a monastery cloister as a place of stable living, and with nothing to define their identity other than their shared poverty, itinerancy and profession of the same *Rule*. Rather than the ordered life of monks and canons, they were knit together in a web of horizontal relationships of brotherhood (*fraternitas*) (Micó 1994). Thus, the word often used by Franciscans to describe the ideal quality of their community life is "fraternity." This word, as used in other contexts, can mean a group of people which one can join, or who are bound together by some common interest, but here it stresses the *nature* of relationship. Francis called those who joined him *fratres minores* ("friars minor"—minor is used here in the sense of lesser, smaller, or of less importance), and positions of leadership were designated by names suggesting service from below (especially "minister") unlike the monastic titles of abbot (*father*) or prior (*first*).

Clare of Assisi and the sisters who joined her at San Damiano, although living a life more based on monastic models, with Clare as abbess, still esteemed the quality of sororal familial relationship in which each was bound by ties of mutual awareness and care. Other forms of Franciscan life such as the congregations of Franciscan sisters are a much more recent innovation, predominantly founded in the 19th or early 20th centuries to carry out particular educational, pastoral or medical ministries. There are also similar congregations of Franciscan friars, not descendants of the original movement founded by Francis. These later congregations share the same Franciscan values and are influenced by the stream of recent Franciscan scholarship[122] which has attempted to reclaim the distinct Franciscan elements of minority (i.e. being small, unimportant), poverty and emphasis on horizontal fraternal/sororal relationships), and to disentangle Franciscan life from what was sometimes a monastic overlay.

122. E.g. Flood and Matura (1975), Flood (1985), Desbonnets (1988), Flood (1989), Micó (1994), Flood (2000), Hoeberichts (2004).

The visible sign of community life for friars is usually that of living in common with other friars, and for sisters with other sisters, and this common life is then the framework within which relationships can develop. Secular Franciscans, although not living in common, refer to their local groups as fraternities (this term includes women members). The congregational websites and promotional publications of the Franciscans studied in Sri Lanka frequently speak of "fraternity," "community," "brotherhood," "sisterhood," etc. as valued aspects of their congregation. A thematic analysis of these publications indicates the following characteristics of Franciscan community life:[123]

- It is undertaken in response to a religious calling.
- Many aspects of daily life are in common.
- It values familial rather than institutional styles of living.
- It brings together people of differing character, nationality, etc.
- It has an outward focus and purpose.

Such a style of community touches on the dimensions of community suggested by Arbuckle's third and, to some extent, fourth definitions ("meaningful identity and shared experience" and "territorial quality and sense of belonging" respectively). In other words, Franciscan community is defined by a specific quality of relationships, derived from Gospel and Franciscan values, and located in particular places, with particular members, who see the possibilities that their lives can be shared with those they live amongst.

7. 3 Location and Description of the Local Communities

With the exception of several interviews with non-Franciscans and with some Secular Franciscans not living in community, the fieldwork was conducted in 9 different friaries and 12 convents. In each of these places the context was that of Franciscans living together in community. These communities ranged in size and location from large and distinctive urban convents which were the centre for the congregation's administration ("provincialates"), to small rural houses, indistinguishable from neighbouring houses, in which there lived a few members.

123. See Appendix 6 (p. 356).

The qualitative and quantitative data came from a substantially overlapping sample of Franciscans; hence the questionnaire returns gave an accurate picture of the characteristics of the communities represented in the qualitative data. Table 7-1 below shows the distribution of participants across size of community.

Table 7-1: Members in Current Community

Members in Current Community	*Total*	*Percent*	*Valid Percent*
Fewer than 5	36	28.3	28.6
5-9	26	20.5	20.6
10-14	11	8.7	8.7
15 or more[124]	18	14.2	14.3
Not living in community (Secular Franciscans)	35	27.6	27.8
Total	126	99.2	100.0
No response	1	.8	
Total	127	100.0	

This overall distribution showed the greatest response to the questionnaires was from members living in communities with fewer than five members. As noted in Table 4-2 (Appendix 4, p. 335) of years in current community, broken down by current age, Franciscan friars and sisters are itinerant with more than half having been in their current community for less than 5 years. That table also showed that there was no particular pattern in relation to age. Franciscans are clearly distinguishable from, say, Benedictines who take a vow of stability to a particular monastery. Table 4-3 (Appendix 4, p.336) showing members in current community, broken down by religious state shows that, with the exception of a large community of seminarians, most of the Franciscans studied here were in small houses (fewer than 5 members) while a number were in communities of

124. The largest option in the questionnaire was 15 or more. Observation during fieldwork would suggest the largest community referred to might have had somewhere around 25 members.

between 5 and 9 members. Table 4-4 (p. 336) of locale, broken down by members in local community, shows that these small communities were mostly situated in villages.

In summary, the overall pattern of Franciscan community life was one of high itinerancy, in which a substantial proportion of the sisters and friars lived in small communities in villages within which they exercised a variety of local ministries, while many of those who were in larger communities, in or near cities, were there for specific reasons relating to training or congregational administration. This reflects a general direction taken post-Vatican II for religious communities to move from large centralised institutions into small neighbourhood communities in which a more familial atmosphere could be cultivated. In such smaller communities, often with challenging local ministries, the quality of community relationships is particularly salient unlike in larger institutional style communities. In small communities, relationships can be more intense and it can be harder to avoid difficulties. Although there are positive reasons for itinerancy (such as it being Franciscan tradition, ensuring that all members in a province get to know each other, matching individual talents with particular ministries) it can also be used to avoid dealing with difficulties by moving a "problem" rather than finding a way to reconciliation.

7. 4 Experiences of Community Life

Participants spoke in various ways of how they saw fraternal/sororal values expressed through living in community life. Three of the overall themes identified in the initial analysis of the discussions and interviews contained sub-themes relating to fraternal/sororal values and the living of these in community, as shown in Table 7-2 (p. 201).

The ethnicity of participants was not recorded for each interview, but many were Tamil and ministering in largely Tamil areas. Some congregations were almost, if not totally, mono-ethnic, others regarded their mixed ethnicity as a positive feature which they tried to represent in the mix of members in each community.

Looking over the interviews and discussions with friars and sisters some general patterns emerged. Living in community could be experienced either positively or negatively. Ethnic composition was highly salient; some valued diversity as a gift and a witness to others, others experienced that diversity as leading to the internalisation within their community of external conflict. Some reported that living in community was life-

giving, while others found it a daily struggle. Communal activities could be helpful in fostering fraternal/sororal life, but some felt little nourishment from them.

Table 7-2: Themes and Sub-Themes Relating to Life Together in Community

Overall Theme	***Sub-Themes relating to Fraternal / Sororal Values and Community Life***
Religious effects (Consequential dimension).	• Able to accept one another. • Able to form harmonious relationships. • Different groups living and working together. • Living peacefully. • Living together in community.
Experience of violence, suffering, conflict.	• Conflict—experience of. • Feeling not respected. • Personal suffering—experience of and responses to.
Issues in religious community life.	• Living in community. • Different ethnicities living together. • Different people living together. • Fraternal / Sororal life. • Individual religious versus congregational tension. • Lay or ordained relationship / tension.

These responses seemed to fall into three distinct ways of referring to community life:

1. Positive. Recognising that conflict arising from difference (either ethnic or personality) was part of community. Realistically recognising the difficulties, but experiencing grace and growth by working through them.
2. Negative. Conflictual experiences. Feeling tension, lack of fraternity/sorority, community as a place of shouting and arguing resulting in unhappiness.
3. Neutral. Simple description of activities done in common.

7. 4. 1 Positive Experiences of Living in Community

Individuals come together to form community. Thus there is a potential tension between them or between the individual and the community, as well as the opportunity to resolve this tension and grow in mutual love and understanding. The positive experiences of community life were described as *functional*: sharing in a wide range of activities which included liturgical prayer, external ministries, household tasks, decision-making, scriptural study and reflection, and days of recollection. Sharing also took place in informal ways round the meal table and in recreation. Community was also experienced in the *relational* ways in which participants grew in knowledge and trust of each other, positively experiencing change and being able to forgive each other. This was valued not only in itself but for the *witness* it gave to neighbouring people of the possibilities of love and inter-ethnic harmony.

Participants interpreted the change and growth which these relationships brought them as a gift from God. Community living was described as "a grace, … a good, rich experience … there's some sort of a joy" (S13), and a place where the contribution of each person, good or bad, was like a "mirror of the community" (F04), showing the community its good and bad aspects. This called for the community to "look after each and every individual because … he contributes something to the community" (F04). Community life, when well-functioning, was found to be mutually strengthening, and enabled "trust to that person whom you never met in your life before" (F11). Although difficult, "like the family," the variety it contained was an expression of a theological understanding which recognised each individual as unique, with a "different way of living," and although there was diversity of understanding and ways, "in that diversity we are united and that diversity actually is necessary, so it unites us because everybody can't, … do the same work" (F12). This variety was described in various ways: like having varied flowers in the "garden of the Lord" or varied occupations (F13), and was necessary to give "taste" (F14). The friars quoted immediately above are young and idealistic, but, as an older friar with responsibility for their oversight observed, community life is the "most difficult part of our lives." He believed "Francis saw at least one wonderful quality in each brother." Although he felt most were "mutually accustom[ed] to seeing the … negative aspect in the lives of our brothers," he felt it would be surprising if we "take something positive" (F08).

An obvious point of difference within community life is ethnicity. Tamils are about 15% of the Sri Lankan population (Table 4-2, p. 82), but around half of the population of Franciscan friars and sisters in Sri Lanka (Table 5-19, p. 149). Some congregations were mono-ethnic, but most were mixed and contained representatives of ethnicities which were divided by civil war. Some members had had little prior contact with the other side such as Friar F15, a Tamil born in the North, who came South as a 19 year-old to join a Franciscan community. He expected that living with Sinhalese would be "something strange" but once he started learning Sinhala he found that living together as brothers was a "totally different experience" (F15). A Sinhalese friar of the same congregation observed that the two ethnicities living together was "witness and a challenge for others" who would sometimes ask, "how are you able to survive?" This witness was held while others were "fighting or having negative thoughts for each other" (F01). Despite these friars' positive assessment of their own community there was also a realistic observation that community life was an "all-in-one package" containing "love, hatred, jealousy, quarrelling, or scolding each other, shouting at one another, and sharing, caring for one another. Everything is there in the community because community is formed of human beings who are with human nature … We are not saints" (F01).

Different ethnicities living together was a "challenge" and a "witness for the people" who sometimes questioned "how it is possible for sisters of different ethnicities to live together" (S14). "They see us praying together and very often when we go we try to go with another sister" (S15). This witness was described as explicitly part of the Franciscan charism of "prayer, minority[125] and also poverty" and "fraternity" enabling them to be "sisters to everybody" (S12). In fact, the impact of this witness was described as "not what we *do* principally … but our very own life together with our doing" (F10). Living only with others of the same ethnicity would be "not tasty," "monotonous," and would lack "challenge to conversion, no challenge to reach holiness" (S1).

Some participants spoke of practical ways in which their communities tried to find internal reconciliation. One observed that during the intense years of fighting, none of the friars talked about the war situation. He asked them what their silence meant, and discovered "very very personal and historical wounds on both sides." He encouraged

125. "Minority" here is used with the specific Franciscan meaning of "being small, unimportant."

them to "talk with one another, so that we can know one another" as "a way of supporting one another. That both are struggling. We are a victim of circumstances, but we can go beyond that" (F10). Many of the sisters held such community meetings regularly to discuss difficulties which had arisen in their community life (although some sisters whose communities held such meetings seemed to have found little help in them). As well as discussion together the sisters also took these struggles "into our prayer also … especially our Eucharist and our prayer in the morning" (S10). This sister felt that prayer was effective in changing attitudes. "It does bring a sort of a peace, and also a thinking pattern. How to approach differently. Because somehow we become different people." She spoke of how prayer could lead to them recognising mistakes as human, "I'm a human being and okay, now, come, let's change it all, … so definitely prayer helps us [overcome the attitude of] I am right you are wrong" (S10).

A sister active in the North felt that initial formation (training in community life) was the key to being able to live in community. "I'm very happy to see how our formation has made us really to be free from those differences." Although she was conscious of their differences and of being both Tamil and Sinhalese, "we are being able to *live* together in spite of the war." Despite the differences and what their families had suffered through the war, their training enabled them to "continue to live in harmony—in our communities. … We have been able to go beyond—and go beyond our differences and build that unity" (S03). Candidates to religious community life are usually in their late teens or early twenties and although the effects of the war and violence are widespread, it is the Tamils who have suffered the most direct experiences of violence to family members. "Some lost their family members and that … is very very painful. So and for them to live in community, with mixed people, you know it's hard to do, not easy. It's not easy" (S16).

In mixed-ethnic communities, ethnic difference alone was a substantial aspect of intra-community relationships, but in mono-ethnic communities the differences between *personalities* alone could be a source of friction. If members found peaceful ways of living together then this was valued as a witness to outsiders who knew of the differences within the community. One sister noted that people who observed the sisters could see their "commitment to a larger system … something beyond natural" (S10). Asked what gave them unity, she and other sisters in the group discussion replied that they were motivated and united by "the love of Christ" (S10), "the love of God" (S09), and that

what they had to show other people was, “that we can still be together. We can still forgive one another. We can still live together” (S10). For some, this acceptance was expressed as being a cross to carry, “there are ups and downs and disagreement and arguments and small small crosses will come across in our life as we go on living our community life as well as in the working place. So it’s the cross for us, and for me.” But this cross was not only a place of suffering, but of forgiveness and was to be accepted “joyfully,” while looking for “unconditional forgiveness” (S23).

7. 4. 2 Negative Experiences of Living in Community

Although many participants reported that conflicts in community life could be overcome through such means as discussion or prayer, there were some who found this not so. Instead of finding creative responses to these conflicts and deepened fraternal/sororal relationships, these participants felt that their communities were not healthy, and that they themselves were not understood. These issues related to tensions arising from external ministries, the difficulties for war-traumatised new entrants, as well as the ongoing effects of this trauma on community members generally. Different understandings of basic values also caused tension, as did personality clashes. One element in these descriptions was inter-personal conflict, but the context for this was community. It was not always possible to distinguish between the inter-personal and the “individual versus community,” especially for those in a small community of about four or five others, as most were. Some issues were related directly to conflict between an individual and the leader, but on the whole the conflict was described in terms of the pain an individual sister or friar experienced in living with “others” collectively, rather than “community” as an abstract.

These complaints were mainly heard in the individual interviews, although some participants in group discussions hinted at difficult deep-seated issues, “I wish that grudges shouldn’t be there. [Inaudible] harping the past and all. … Long, 35 years ago we keep on it and that is the trouble for us each person” (S18). Sometimes these tensions arose because members of a local community were working in different external ministries, bringing their problems back to community, but finding no effective way of sharing these difficulties, “when they come together they have only certain activities of the community. Because sometimes we carry that difficulty to here” (S08).

A particular challenge to community life has come from a number of young people who joined religious congregations not primarily for vocational reasons but for safety or comfort. Many of these candidates were traumatised, and one sister working with them observed that "it's the responsibility of the formation, how to make their traumatic experiences, that of … wounded healers." She described this as "the mission we have as a congregation" (S03). Another sister of the same congregation was working with their young candidates as a trauma counsellor. Asked if they could find sufficient healing to embark on community life, she replied "I don't know. I don't. … Because we really don't know what the motivation is. … [The girls] come with all that baggage. So how much we can clear it I don't know" (S16).

Many participants (especially Tamils) had suffered personal bereavement during Sri Lanka's widespread and prolonged civil war. In some convents all sisters had experienced this loss. One sister spoke of having lost three close family members. She "used to get angry with others because of this, because within myself. Because I was affected. Affected a lot." Her own people "were starving and they couldn't eat and they were running here and there to do so survive their life." Rather than finding healing in community relationships she found more difficulties, frequently getting angry "when they do something against me." Her grief seemed unresolved. Some needs were met in community, such as food and shelter and a framework for expressing faith, but other needs, such as finding healing, were not. This seemed to sharpen her awareness of the disparity between her life in community and the needs of those she ministered to. Instead of inspiration for ministry in these needs, she felt something like guilt when she compared their need to the regular comfortable life in the convent. "Though we are sisters, we are having all three meals here. But they are still have to go for work. And get the money and … they have to earn and eat. We are not like that though whether we earn or not but we will get the meal" (S01).

There were various other sources of tensions such as dissonance between interpretations of Franciscan values, for example one sister observed that younger sisters had become accustomed to a level of material comfort she felt was not Franciscan. "As Franciscan, I feel that we shouldn't follow those things. We have to live a simple life like St. Francis. His simplicity and also humility" (S05).

Personality clashes were also another conflict. One friar reported that another had been shouting at him on the day of the interview. “I’m facing a lot of problem. As St Paul says, when I am weak, then I am strong. Even today, actually saying [another brother] was shouting me I want to answer, because they can’t see, they can’t believe I am happy” (F09). Another had been embroiled in a dispute with the parish priest. “Now, he’s treating me like an enemy, not friendly. I used to speak very friendly, loving I speak, but he is some one way or the other finding fault and criticizing me to the people and in and around and complaining to the bishop.” This was for him “a crisis, … so tough time I had. I want to go away from this place.” He compared people’s reaction to him as like the crowd which one day shouted “hosanna” to Jesus and soon after “crucify him” (F03). This friar felt that his “brothers are not trusting, they are not ready to accept me as a brother at least and a person of, who is very close to God. They don’t want” (F03).

Women’s communities also carried similar tensions, although perhaps expressed differently. One spoke of being attacked personally by the other sisters. “I went to a community where there was a big problem, and most of it was turned to me personally, the difficult characters, no?” She noted that men in religious communities had more freedom to avoid such conflict. They can “take a bike and can go out and they have outside work and outside involvement; they have very little involvement within.” She felt that this was something which she needed to “accept painfully” (S03).

This pain was echoed by another sister. Although she felt secure in her faith, “as human being, there are times I have been discouraged, discouraged, and I have cried, but my deeper faith in God give me more and more strength to go forward.” She tried to find meaning through deepening her relationship with God, trying to be a “small small, an instrument … to go to [God] more and more freely.” Thus she believed she could get the grace for God to act through her, despite her “loneliness” and feeling “not understood, … criticised.” In her prayer she felt that “I am directly speaking to [God], directly speaking to him, and he gives me the strength.” She identified with the sufferings of Jesus on the cross, “Yes, I feel that God is giving me to experience his … suffering, his process, what he went through. I feel that he is also giving me that experience, giving me the chances to experience him in my journey of life” (S02).

A particular tension for members of religious communities can arise between the vow of obedience and personal wishes, for example when a decision is made to transfer

a sister elsewhere. Although one sister preferred to stay where she was "and work with the people" she said "yes" to a transfer. "I have to accept what the province is asking of me." She recognised that these things were part of her "daily life" and that her "faith is something daily to live" (S04).

The interview with one sister, a Tamil who lived in the North, was particularly difficult to transcribe, her voice quiet as she spoke of her faith and despair. "What would you see? With me and the people. I won't say, God is somewhere far away. He is with us. Depend on us, how we move with the people, how we live with the people. … I won't say, 'God is somewhere else and I am doing here.'" Nevertheless, "God is giving some kind of strength to me to bear all the cross. … Courageously I can go forward and do something." Other sisters might not like what she does. "They will talk about me, something—I won't bother about that. If you take it for God, if it is right, I will do it" (S01).

The impression gained after listening to these voices was of a mixture of despair with a courage which had almost nothing to cling to. Some of those who spoke most of their own woundedness were also active in a variety of ministries; being with others, listening to them, trying to offer prayer or at least the presence of attentiveness. In some positive sense they were creating new identities outside the expected roles of "sister" or "brother" or "priest," but doing so in spite of their communities, rather than as positive expressions of healthy community life. It seemed that in these communities there was little constructive work done to resolve these deep-seated conflicts.

7. 4. 3 Community Health

Community life is shaped by the network of relationships between the members of a community. A number of aspects of these relationships seen above are related to what can be described as community health. A healthy community can be characterised by its members readily accepting each other, positively valuing the differences between community members, and using a range of skills to resolve conflict peacefully. These members will feel that they mutually respect each other, are able to resolve tension between individual and community and have a strong sense of fraternal/sororal values. An unhealthy community will lack some of these.

It seemed in the interviews and group discussions that the interplay of these characteristics gave each congregation a particular "feel" of community life. Some places

seemed happy, others unhappy. This was examined in more detail in the quantitative and qualitative data.

7. 4. 3. 1 Quantitative Findings

The questionnaire included a Community Health instrument derived from the "general functioning" subscale of the McMaster Family Assessment Device (Epstein, Baldwin, and Bishop 1983) adapted for community members by substituting "community" for "family."[126] This instrument consists of 12 questions relating to community functioning (e.g. "Planning community activities is difficult because we misunderstand each other" (reverse scored); "In times of crisis we can turn to each other for support.") Summing the scores from the 12 questions for this instrument gave the Community Health Scale. The scores ranged from 14 to 48, out of a possible range from 12 (extremely dysfunctional) to 48 (representing a community with a high level of internal communication, cooperation and problem-solving). The mean value was 34 and the mode 31.

The previous chapter showed that this Community Health scale was a statistically significant component in logistic regression analysis of participation in only several combinations of forms of peacemaking and time periods, but the scale was not examined in more detail. Further analysis of it in relation to religious state, age, size of community, locale (urban/rural) of community, diocese, province, nationality, ethnicity or education did not show any particularly significant relationships in regard to community health and these demographic factors. However the interview data, as summarised in Table 7-3 (p. 212), suggested there could be differences in community health between congregations. Congregational membership was not asked on the questionnaire but by cross-tabulating religious state with diocese, ethnicity, community size and age it was possible in most cases to identify which congregation a participant belonged to. In some cases, the membership could be narrowed down to one of two congregations. A congregational code was

126. An adaption done by McGarrahan (1991)—the version of the instrument as used on the questionnaire for Secular Franciscans used the original version of the wording.

thus added to the data set and Community health plotted against it as shown in Figure 7-1 (p. 210).[127]

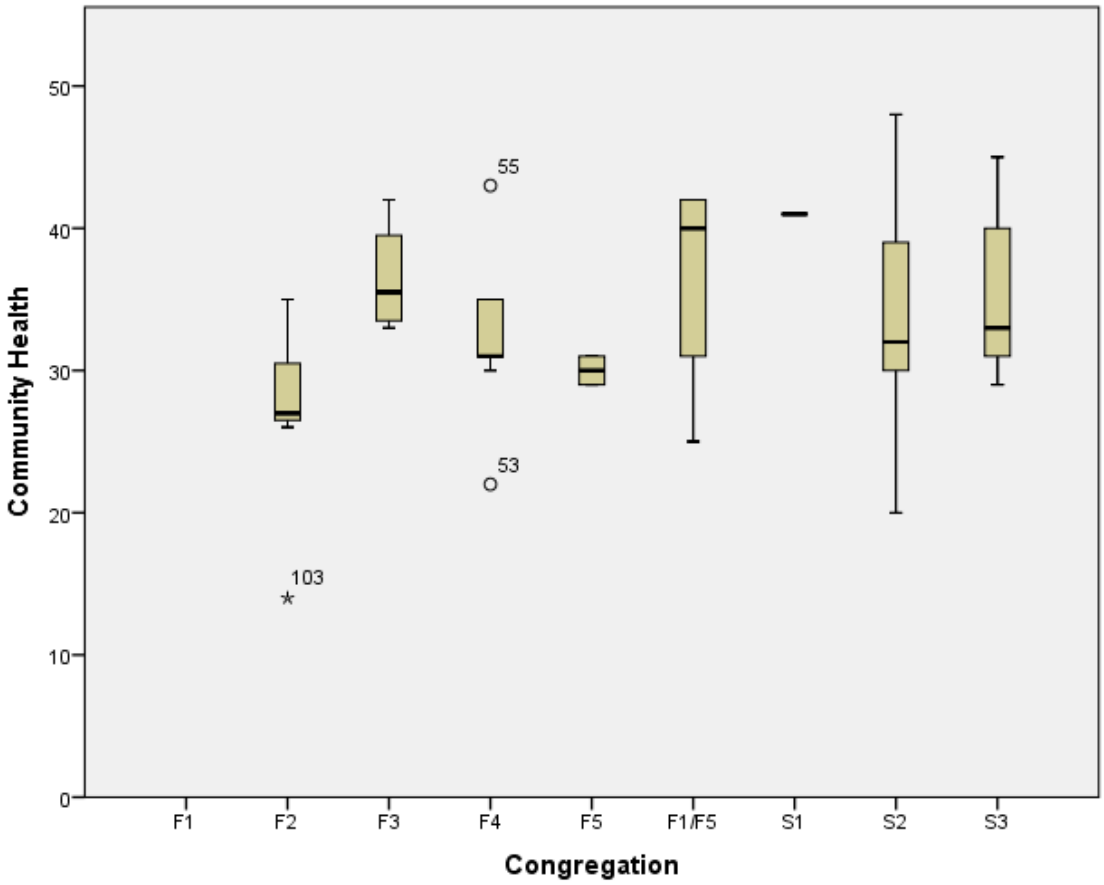

Figure 7-1: Community Health by Congregation

(The boxplot above shows the median (horizontal bar in each box), the box itself indicates the range between lower and upper quartiles, the "whisker" lines indicate the range in which, if normally distributed, 95% of values would fall. Outliers and extreme outliers are marked by circles and stars respectively).

Some congregations were too small to have more than a few responses. The values reported by F2 were mostly well below those of other congregations. Participant 103 was a definite outlier (the coding of his questionnaire was checked and found to be correct), but even without his response his congregation still scored lowest on community health. Of the sisters' congregations S2 scored the highest and lowest values but was lowest on mean score. These results for community health for congregations F2 and S2

127. 7 responses from either F1 or F5 in the questionnaires and discussions could not be disaggregated and are coded as F1/F5. There were 18 responses from S2 or S3 in the questionnaires which could not be disaggregated. These were coded as S2/S3 and included in the statistical analysis but not included in the charts—the interview data for these two congregations *could* be disaggregated so the following charts are both comparing similarly disaggregated data sets.

are comparable with the findings from the interviews in which the descriptions of community life which were coded negatively were those from members of those same congregations, i.e. F2 and S2.

Statistical tests were performed to see if the differences between mean Community Health scores were significantly different between congregations.[128] These tests showed significant differences between the following pairs: F2 and F1/F5; F2 and S2; F2 and S3 at $p<.05$ and F2 and S2/S3 at $p<.01$. F2 as a congregation has a significantly lower Community Health score compared to half of the other congregations.

7. 4. 3. 2 Qualitative Findings

The responses in the interviews and discussions relating to community life which were coded "Positive" or "Negative" were cross tabulated by participants. In some cases, the codes for particular participants were "positive" for some aspects and "negative" for others. These were counted as Mixed. A "Community Life Score" was calculated for each congregation by giving a score of -1 for each "negative" participant, 0 for each "mixed" participant and +1 for each "positive" participant" and taking the sum of these, as shown in Table 7-3 (p. 212).

There were only two congregations with members who spoke *only* negatively of their experience of community life, and these four participants were a small part of the total. This may seem a small number, but if there are some members in a congregation with largely negative views this raises the question of how the other members respond. Do they ignore the discontent or write it off as "he's always been a problem"? Or do they attempt to engage positively with it? A large number spoke positively of their experiences

128. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) test on Community Health by Congregation was performed to see if the differences in mean Community Health scores were significant between congregations. The Community Health score was normally distributed, as assessed by examination of Normal Q-Q plots. There were outliers in F2, F4 and W2 (as in the above box plot) which were removed by a logarithmic transformation. These scales remained normally distributed. The cases for S1 and "F – unknown" were excluded from further analysis; there were two cases with each of these memberships, but of each of these, one was lacking any data for community health. There was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene's Test of Homogeneity of Variance ($p = .072$). Community Health was statistically significantly different between different congregations, $F(9,109) = 2.813$, $p = .005$, $\omega^2 = .125$. A Tukey post-hoc test showed that this difference was accounted for by the pairwise difference between F2 and about half the other congregations, one by one. (Specifically the differences were in the following pairs: F2 and F1/F5; F2 and S2; F2 and S3 at $p<.05$ and F2 and S2/S3 at $p<.01$).

of community life, but this was mostly in the group discussions, where it could be much harder to speak openly.

Table 7-3: Experiences of Community Life (By Interview/Group Discussion Participants)

Congregation	*Number of Participants**	*Experiences of Community Life: (Number of Participants)*			*Community Life Score*
		Negative	*Mixed*	*Positive*	
F1	2	0	0	2	2
F2	10	2	2	1	-1
F3	6	0	1	3	3
F4	7	0	0	6	6
F5	3	0	1	2	2
F1 or F5**	5	0	0	1	1
S1	3	0	0	1	1
S2	27	2	2	2	0
S3	25	0	3	6	6
TOTAL		4	9	24	21

* The number of participants in interviews and separately identifiable in discussions.
** Some participants in a combined group discussion of F1 and F5 could not be disaggregated in transcription.

Most of those who spoke negatively of community life did so in individual interviews rather than group discussions. This is not surprising since the negative comments often reflected poorly on fellow community members. There was no obvious geographic distribution in the responses, but most of those with negative community experiences were in congregations in which many members had particularly experienced the recent years of intense conflict and who perhaps had lost close family members.

7. 4. 3. 3 Relating Quantitative and Qualitative measures of Community Health.

Comparing the quantitative data in Figure 7-1 (p. 210) and the qualitative data in Table 7-3 (p. 212) there seemed to be several points of similarity. F2 was the lowest scoring for Community Health, it was also one of the two communities with participants who spoke negatively of community life. The other was S2, which had a wide range of responses for Community Health (which in itself could suggest some greater element of discord within the congregation if the range of responses indicates substantially different perceptions among the members of the community of its healthiness; or alternatively, if the lower scores represented "honest" responses and the higher ones were artificially inflated to give a good impression).

By superimposing the "Community Life Score" derived from the qualitative data (admittedly a very approximate measure) on the quantitative responses in the Community Health graph a general pattern was found which suggests that both types of data were more or less in step with each other as shown in Figure 7-2 below. A limitation of this data was the small number of participants in some of the congregations, such as F1 and S1.

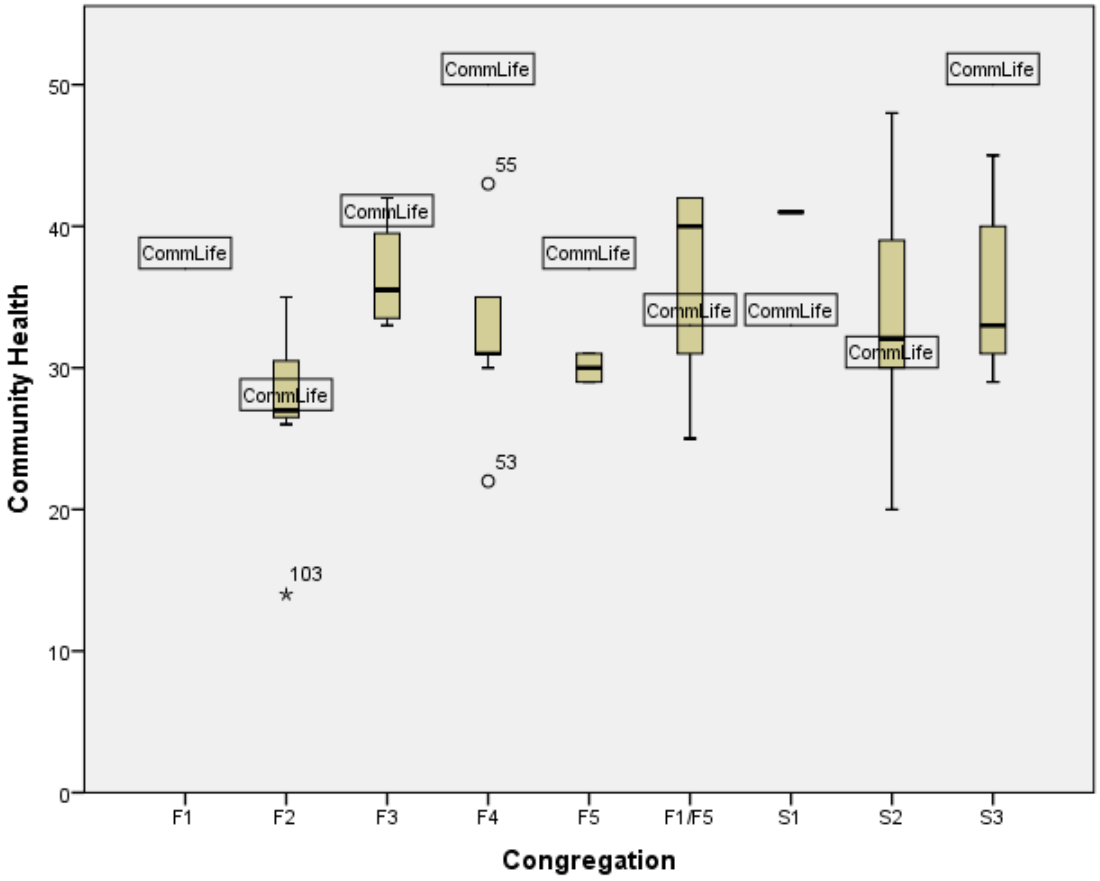

Figure 7-2: Community Health and Community Life by Congregation

The Community Life scores (represented by the superimposed "CommLife" box) are scaled to cover approximately the same range as the Community health scores, the midpoint of 0 being mapped to a value of 30 on Community Health.

7. 4. 4 Community versus Individual Orientation

The analysis in the above section is of community health; essentially a measure of community function. Another aspect of community life is the relationship between community and individual goals. The questionnaire included four questions (C20–C23) to elicit opinions about the balance of community and individual interests in such matters as goal setting, making decisions, ministry and mission and appreciation of the challenge of community life. As reported above in Chapter 5 these questions were unable to form a single scale, but individually they help understand the experiences and perceptions of community life. They will not be analysed in detail here but some findings of particular interest will be noted. Although there was a version of these questions for Secular Franciscans relating to family life this will be excluded from the discussion below.

To give an overview of possible relationships among these responses (and also with Community Health) a Spearman's rank-order correlation test was performed for each bi-variate combination. (Spearman's test was chosen as a test less sensitive to the effect of outliers). Six significantly correlated pairs were found which are discussed below.

7. 4. 4. 1 C20: Community versus Individual Goals

The question asked was "The goals of community life are more important than my own personal goals." The most frequent response was "Moderately accurate" (n = 36, 39%), and the next "Very accurate" (n = 31, 34%). In other words, more than two-thirds of participants agreed to some degree with this statement. However, the 14 who disagreed with it to some extent still represent a sizeable number of the participants.

The responses to this question were significantly correlated with C23: Appreciation of the Challenge of Community Life, ($r_s(92) = .39$, $p < .001$) and with Community Health, ($r_s(88) = .25$, $p = .020$). This suggests that those who valued the goals of community life also tended to appreciate the challenge of living in community. They also tended to report that the communities in which they lived were healthier. Those who valued their own goals over communal ones, perhaps feeling a sense of personal entitlement, did not appreciate the challenge of community life, and also tended to feel that their communities were less functional and not able to respond to individually expressed goals, or to incorporate them into community life. This dynamic touches on something basic to community life—the interplay and potential dissonance between individual and corporate goals, and the processes which shape these goals. This was seen in some of the qualitative data which showed individuals engaged in peacemaking as individuals, yet belonging to communities with unhealthy relationships.

7. 4. 4. 2 C21: Decision Making

The question was "I am the best person to make the decisions about my life such as where I live or the work I do." This was a particularly divisive question, suggesting that participants held strong opinions either for or against it. Just over half of the participants agreed with it to some degree. ("Moderately accurate" (n = 25, 27%) and "Very

accurate" (n = 23, 25%)) and a substantial number disagreed ("Very inaccurate" (n = 19, 21%), "Moderately accurate" (n = 8, 9%). The remainder answered "Neither inaccurate nor accurate" (n = 17, 19%).

Responses to this question were significantly, but not strongly, correlated with responses to C22: External Activity versus Community Life, ($r_s(92) = .27$, $p = .010$), and C23: Appreciation of the Challenge of Community Life, ($r_s(92) = .24$, $p = .020$), suggesting that those who tended to value their individual responsibility in decision making were somewhat more likely to value external ministry over community life, as well as appreciating positively the challenge of community life.

7. 4. 4. 3 C22: External Activity versus Community Life

The question here was "Ministry and mission are more important than living in community." Most participants disagreed with this ("Very inaccurate" (n = 42, 46%) and "Moderately inaccurate" (n = 16, 17%). A number responded "Neither inaccurate nor accurate" (n = 20, 22%).

Responses to this question were significantly and negatively, but not strongly, correlated with responses to Community Health, ($r_s(88) = -.27$, $p = .011$). In other words, those who answered that individual ministry or mission were more important than living in community also tended to describe their community in dysfunctional terms. This touches on the heart of the balance between internal and external engagement. In the interviews and group discussions many participants spoke of community life as the basis from which external ministry was derived, yet the correlation noted above, as well as the observation in interviews and group discussions that those who performed active external peacemaking activities as a ministry were at times doing so as "wounded healers" and not supported by healthy community life, suggests that although external peacemaking may be a fruit of healthy internal community relationships, it may also be an escape from unhappy community life. This point will be examined further below.

7. 4. 4. 4 C23: Appreciation of the Challenge of Community Life

Participants were asked "I like the challenge of living with others in my local Franciscan community." The majority agreed to some extent with this ("Very accurate"

(n = 41, 45%) and "Moderately accurate" (n = 32, 35%). However, the 7 who reported that they do not enjoy this challenge are still a significant number, especially for others who live with them.

There were significant positive correlations between these responses and those to C20 and C21 as noted above and also with Community Health ($r_s(88) = .446, p < .001$). This suggests that those who appreciate the challenges of community life are also more likely to value the goals of that community life, more than their individual goals, but also to value their autonomy in decision making as well as live in healthily functioning communities and be positively disposed to community life.

7. 5 Community Life and Peacemaking

Having explored the range of ways in which Franciscans perceive the health and functioning of their community life from both the qualitative and quantitative data, this section now examines the relationship between this data and participation in various forms of peacemaking. First, the interview and discussion data was considered, by comparing the negative/positive perceptions of community life with reported participation in particular forms of peacemaking and different periods. Second, the use of singular or plural first person pronouns when talking about peacemaking was compared, and finally was an analysis of reported peacemaking activity and community health and life from the questionnaire data.

7. 5. 1 Participation in Different Forms of Peacemaking

In the above analysis the members of each congregation were observed to have negative, mixed or positive ways of talking about their experiences of community life. These were tabulated in Table 7-3 (p. 212), and then these community life experiences were cross tabulated with participation in peacemaking activities, grouped by congregation, as described below. (This analysis is only of those participants who had spoken about *both* community life and also peacemaking participation).

7. 5. 1. 1 F1

This congregation was represented by only two identifiable participants in interviews or discussions, although some were also present in a group with F5 members who could not be disaggregated in transcription. As seen above in Table 7-3 (p. 212), their participants spoke positively of community life. Their approaches to peacemaking included participation in exchange and exposure programmes. One of the participants, a non-Sri Lankan, found the experience of multi-ethnic Sri Lankan Christian worship could be a sign of how different ethnicities could find common ground, but he also felt unsure how to move towards interfaith dialogue in what was still for him a culture in which he lacked confidence.

7. 5. 1. 2 F2

There were ten participants in interviews and discussions from this congregation, of whom two were coded as speaking negatively of community life, one as positively and two as mixed. The "negative" participants spoke of their perception of peacemaking as beginning with experience of the ordinary things of life, and with difficulties arising from the deep trauma of the people; the specific activities they spoke of arose from their existing pastoral contacts: reconciliation of conflicted parties and using their networking to direct overseas donations to assist with school fees for families they knew in need. The "mixed" participants included the same activities, as well as participating in some inter-religious dialogue and humanitarian aid, using overseas contacts to network and disseminate news during the time of active conflict, and being an intermediary using language skills to help communication between Sinhalese and Tamils. One spoke of peacemaking within the community, as well as peacemaking by presence with others, and religious work for peace as well as acknowledging a specific role witness of Christians. The one "positive" participant from that congregation spoke of presence with others as a form of counselling.

Although these voices were few (five out of the ten members of that congregation who participated) it is possible to suggest that those participants with "negative" experience of community were less active peacemakers than those with "mixed" experience of community, and that they were perhaps less directed to positive forms of peacemaking.

The “mixed” and “positive” ones were active in a wider range of activities which called for a greater deal of inter-personal commitment and risk.

7. 5. 1. 3 F3

This was another small congregation with six participants, of whom three spoke about their participation in peacemaking. The participant coded as describing a “mixed” experience of community life spoke of peacemaking as vocational and based on spiritual values. He also described the specific role of witness for Christians in the mixed religious environment of Sri Lanka, and has also participated in interfaith dialogue. Specifically, he networked with others in his congregation and beyond to disseminate news of the situation in Sri Lanka. The “positive” voices of this congregation spoke of peacemaking as beginning with experience, either personal or of community life, they spoke of the difficulties in working for peace when they themselves were of various ethnicities and needed to overcome their own prejudices, but that through this, their presence with others could be a witness of life.

These voices were on the whole realistic about what they could do. They were few in number, but recognised the value of various ethnicities living together and the potential witness their own congregation gave for this, although they also acknowledged the gap between ideal and reality.

7. 5. 1. 4 F4

Of the seven members of this congregation interviewed, six were coded as speaking positively of their experience of community life. For them, peacemaking was vocational and built on spiritual values, some had experienced exchange or exposure programmes, and they acknowledged some difficulties in working for peace.

Most of the members of this congregation who participated in the study were comparatively new members of their congregation. They spoke little of specific peacemaking activities because their studies largely prevented them from outside engagement. For them, the experience they spoke most positively of was simply that of different ethnicities living, working and studying together. From this, they claimed they learnt love and trust. However, the data are from only one interview and one discussion, and it is

possible that in the group discussion the effect of conflict is downplayed. The comparison of qualitative and quantitative data in Figure 7-2 (p. 214) showed this congregation having a sizeable gap between both sets of data.

7. 5. 1. 5 F5

This also was a congregation with few of its members participating in the study, although several were combined with a group discussion with F1 members and unable to be disaggregated. Of the three participants able to be identified, one was coded as "mixed" in his description of community life. He spoke of participation in a range of activities: campaigning or demonstrating for peace, development projects, exchange or exposure programmes, reconciling opposing groups; while seeing that presence with others or witness of life was a way of promoting peace. He also had worked for a church-based peace programme. The other two members of F5 were "positive" in their description of community life. Between them they spoke of peace as beginning with experience—personal or of community life, and had taken part in pastoral counselling, development projects, and peace and values education. They saw that their presence with others was part of a witness of life and also acknowledged that Christians in Sri Lanka had a specific role as witnesses.

With small numbers it was hard to be definite but these friars, with mixed and positive experiences of community life spoke of engagement in a wide range of activities. These seem to be mainly individual rather than communal, but these friars were a limited sample of the congregation.

7. 5. 1. 6 F1 or F5

In this group of five friars, all students, there was no specific description of any peacemaking activities, other than the formative value of living in community and learning how to value difference.

7. 5. 1. 7 S1

This congregation of sisters was represented by only one group discussion. Their expression of community life was positive and they spoke of peacemaking as vocational and based on spiritual values, and for them specifically expressed in counselling those they met in pastoral contact in the parish they were working in.

7. 5. 1. 8 S2

This was a larger congregation with 27 sisters who participated in discussions and interviews. Of these, six spoke of their experiences of community life, two each for negative, mixed and positive experiences. Of those coded "negative" they spoke of participating in specific activities such as advocacy, capacity building, counselling, livelihood projects, speaking to armed forces, and more generally, speaking truth as well as reconciling opposing groups. Peacemaking for them was vocational, based on spiritual values, and included presence with others and witness of life. Of the two with "mixed" experience of community life one spoke of taking part in peace and values education, while of the two of the "positive" set, one said she did counselling.

The members of this congregation observed here were significantly involved in a range of peacemaking activities, but these were mainly being done by those with negative experiences of community life. Other evidence (elaborated below) suggests these were predominantly individual rather than communal activities. The picture it suggests is that of individuals, unhappy with their communities, yet quite active in outside ministries.

7. 5. 1. 9 S3

This congregation again had a number of members who participated in the interviews and group discussions. Of these 25 sisters, three were coded as "mixed" in their description of community life and six as "positive." The "mixed" ones described a wide range of participation in peacemaking including advocacy, campaigning or demonstrating, capacity building, counselling, development, humanitarian aid, interfaith dialogue, being an intermediary, peace and values education, reconciling opposing groups, speaking truth, working for peace movements or JPIC entities. For them, peacemaking was vocational,

could be part of existing ministries, was built on spiritual values, began with experience either personal or of community life, could be expressed in small ways, was a collaborative experience, drew on intra-community experience, could be seen in terms of presence with others or witness of life and included a specific role of Christian witness. It included such wider values as non-violence, positive relationship with creation and seeking the unity of humankind.[129] Some of them acknowledged difficulties such as motivating other sisters, as well as the tension between principle and possible action in discerning whether to work for changing a situation or helping people to cope.

Of those coded "positive" many responses overlapped with the previous group, but they also added peacemaking explicitly chosen as a priority, livelihood projects, and work for social justice.

These sisters seemed to be involved in a range of activities, undertaken not only by local communities, but even if performed mainly by a specific individual, other sisters expressed some ownership in this. They seem not only to have found ways of creating positive community life, but also for this life to be expressed in their ministries.

7. 5. 1. 10 Summary of Analysis by Congregation

To conclude this congregational analysis of participation in different forms of peacemaking it is possible to suggest that despite the limited evidence from smaller congregations, or congregations with limited participation in the research, that just by comparing the larger ones (F2, S2 and S3—which also had quite different experiences of community life) that there were clear differences in their engagement with peacemaking activities. Those who expressed a greater degree of positive relationship in community life seemed also to be engaged in a wide range of peacemaking activities, carried out both individually and as communities. Those living in less functional communities were also active to some extent in peacemaking activities, but in a more limited way, acting as individuals, and perhaps less able to find positive ways of dealing with trauma in those among whom they ministered.

129. These sisters had a mission statement which included a definite articulation of JPIC principles.

7. 5. 2 Participation in Peacemaking by Time Period

The analysis in the previous chapter found that the connections between peacemaking activities and the subscales of the Religious Schema Scale also varied time wise. Activities either during the period of armed conflict and of great humanitarian need immediately afterwards were negatively related to the *ttt* subscale of fundamentalist religious style, while current participation was positively related to the *xenos* subscale of religious openness (see Section 6.4.3, p. 168). Are there also differences in peacemaking activities between these two broad periods when viewed through the lens of community life?

The peacemaking responses were categorised and regrouped more systematically, using the same forms of peacemaking in the questionnaire, as well as some additions derived from the interview and discussion data as shown in Table 7-4 below.

Table 7-4: Revised Codes for Peacemaking Activities

Code	*Activity*	*Description*
Adv	Advocacy	Advocacy. Activism; working for positive change in society; truth-telling; speaking out against injustices.
Int	Being an intermediary	Peacemaking by being an intermediary (fact finding, aiding communications, peace-process advocacy, facilitation, conciliation, mediation).
Obs	Being an observer	Being a physical presence intended to discourage violence, corruption, human rights violations or other threatening or undesired behaviour.
Ed	Education	Training others in conflict resolution, democracy, or living with diversity; increased awareness of injustice, or promoting healing and reconciliation. Education in values of living peacefully, conflict solving. Includes values programmes with children and families.
Und	Facilitating understanding	Facilitating understanding between parties in conflict through such means as meeting for dialogue, working together at common projects.
NVA	Nonviolent action	Nonviolent action as a form of protest against injustice.
DRel	Dialogue with other religions	Interfaith dialogue or forms of relationship with other religions as a form of peacemaking.
DChr	Dialogue with other Christians	Dialogue or programmes with other Christians as a form of peacemaking.
Lit	Liturgical activities for peace	Not including usual daily office or mass. Essentially corporate activities.
Spi	Spiritual activities	Meditation, fasting, etc. Essentially individual activities.

Pas	Pastoral	Pastoral activities for peace. E.g. counselling.
Wit	Witness	Being present with others. Witnessing to them by life.
Dev	Development	Projects for development, livelihood, capacity building, housing.
Hum	Humanitarian aid	Aid (e.g. food, medical) in response to acute and widespread human need caused by warfare or natural disaster.
Ani	Animating-Administering	Work for movements or entities such as JPIC.
Uns	Unspecified	

These codes were then applied to each congregation's reported peacemaking activities in the interviews and discussions, cross tabulated by time period as well as reported non-activity, or difficulty or possibility, as shown in Table 7-5 (p. 225).

In brief, this shows something of the range of ways of responding, particularly if the larger congregations represented (F2, S2 and S3) are compared. F2's responses would seem to have been very conditioned by the needs of each period as they responded from a congregation with a generally lower level of community health. During the war and immediately afterwards there were individual friars responding to particular situations, acting as advocates and assisting with humanitarian programmes in the IDP camps. Their involvement now was largely personal and ad hoc. At the other end of the scale of community health is S3 whose involvement was through a range of activities, some of which were carried out individually, and some of which built on existing congregational ministries and contacts. Despite recognising the difficulties associated with some of these activities, they were still able to carry them out. This suggests they had a greater resilience. S2's responses were perhaps somewhat between those of F2 and S3.

Although individuals from both healthy and dysfunctional communities were engaged in external peacemaking there would seem to be a difference in the sustainability of that engagement. Peacemaking, particularly that which involves direct contact with parties in conflict, requires resilience to be sustained over the long term. Although an individual from a dysfunctional community could use knowledge and skills to engage in peacemaking, without a supportive community environment it would be hard to have the necessary resilience. Individuals from healthy communities would however have the extra resource of encouragement from the community. In an extreme case the motivation for an individual to engage in peacemaking could be largely that of escaping from an

unhappy community. This would be particularly unsustainable. If, however, the motivation flowed from strong commitment to community life and corporate witness then there would be a solid resource to bring to peacemaking, not only of individual commitment, but of the lived experience of the possibilities of forgiveness and of people being able to live together.

Table 7-5: Participation in Peacemaking Activities by Congregation and Time Period

Cong*	***No****	***Participation in Peacemaking Activities in Sri Lanka***		
		Past participation	*Current or very recent participation*	*Comment*
F1 (-, 2)	2	DRel.	Und .	DChr and Wit are possibilities. DRel difficult because unfamiliar.
F2 (27, -1)	10	Adv. Int. Hum.	Und. NVA - in relationships with others. DRel. Wit. – of Christian love. Dev. – assisting education.	Pas – difficult because of people's deep trauma.
F3 (36, 3)	6	Adv.	DRel. Wit - different ethnicities living together.	"We've never done much of big programmes." Ani and Wit difficult.
F4 (31, 6)	7		Und.	Und is difficult.
F5 (30, 2)	3	Uns. Und.	Ed. Und. Wit. Dev. Ani.	
F1 or F5*** (40, 1)	5			
S1 (41, 1)	3		Und.	
S2 (32, 0)	27	Adv. Pas. Wit. Hum.	Ed. Und. Pas. Wit. Dev.	Ed – difficult because police monitoring. Wit – doubting effectiveness sometimes.

S3 (33, 6)	25	Adv. Int. Ed. Und. DRel. Pas. Wit. Dev. Hum. Ani.	Adv. Ed. NVA. DRel. Spi. Pas. Wit. Dev. Ani.	Adv – difficult because need to be quiet and not attract attention. Pas – difficulty in trauma counselling. Ani – difficulty in motivating other sisters.

* Congregation, with Community Health and Community Life score.
** Number of participants separately identified in interviews / group discussions.
*** Some participants in a combined group interview of F1 and F5 could not be disaggregated in transcription.

7. 5. 3 Single or Plural First Person Use in Relationship to Peacemaking

In reading the transcripts there seemed at times a strong difference in use of singular and plural forms of first person pronouns. Some used singular forms extensively of themselves and their activities. The following participant was describing his role as intermediary between several parties. (Italics are added to show first person pronoun use).

> *I* am praying, a prayerful person and a good brother, they said. So they started to obey *my* words. Slowly, they gave up all their enmity between them, and slowly now, it's okay somewhat, it's okay. Improvements are there. *I* everything offer to God. Lord. You are the person who should be interfere here. You should give *me* courage to go ahead. Because *I* found *my* mission so very tough, but *I* will go ahead (F03).

He was describing an individual ministry, and his participation in it was highly individualised. In a contrasting way, a sister of S3 described their community commitment to particular works:

> And also that when it comes certain missions, and *we* have volunteered—that *we* have opted for those missions. For example now, when they ask for certain missions now, even in the country or outside of the country that *we* have not only [limited?] *ourselves*. *We* have [inaudible] *we* especially in the country us Franciscans *we* also have a focus on being with the poor. That was *our* priority. And in all *our* intercessions in Sri Lanka. Most of the places that *we* engage with the poor people not with the rich people. *We* have not neglected the rich but *we* have given *ourselves* to the very very poor people. So, that I could say that in the peace process of course *our* concern goes to the poor (S13).

Is this difference possibly related to the feeling of communal identity or community health? A word count was carried out on first person pronouns. These were coded

as singular (I, I'm, I've, I'll, I'd, me, my, mine, myself) or plural (we, we're, we've, we'll, we'd, us, our, ours, ourselves). Text thus coded was disaggregated into individual interviews and group discussions and tabulated by congregation. To enable comparison between congregations of different sizes a "plural quotient" was calculated by dividing the plural count by the singular count so that a value of greater than one indicates more use of first person plural than singular forms as shown in Table 7-6 (p. 228).[130]

There is a clear distinction between some of these congregations. For example, members of F2, when talking in the group discussions used plural pronouns more than three times their use of singular pronouns, but in the individual interviews with members of that congregation the singular forms were used more than three times the plural forms. There is a similar pattern for S2. The participants in these individual interviews were often describing the conflict and pain they felt in their own community life. By comparison, F1 individual members spoke strongly of communal values, reflected in the plural quotient for F1's individual interviews. The group discussion plural quotient for that congregation seemed surprisingly low but the absolute values reflect the very slight participation of F1 members in group discussions. S3 sisters and F5 friars had almost the same pattern in use of first person pronouns, as well as S1 sisters for group discussion (there was no individual interview with an S1 sister). Even in individual interviews both S3 and F5 used plural forms almost as much as singular forms, and along with S1 used plural forms nearly 50 percent more than individual forms in group discussions.

In both individual interviews and group discussions the participants were talking about broadly similar topics. Some were ones which naturally would be spoken of in the singular (e.g. "what led to you becoming a sister?" "how do you describe God?"), while others could generate either singular or plural responses, (e.g. "what peacemaking work is being done now?"). For most congregations there was, as could be expected, a clear difference in responses between interviews and discussions; plural forms being used in the discussions more than in the interviews.

130. Study of personal pronoun use has been found to be a useful analytic tool in personal psychology. E.g. Zimmermann et al. (2013) who observe that personal pronoun use is distinct to each person and stable across different contexts, relatively consciously uncontrolled, and related to such factors as cognitive interdependence or communal orientation. See also Kacewicz et al. (2014).

Table 7-6: First Person Singular/Plural Pronoun use by Congregation

	Singular	**Plural**	**Plural Quotient**
	Individual	***Individual***	***Individual***
	Group	***Group***	***Group***
	Total	**Total**	**Total**
F1	*139*	*224*	*1.61*
	39	*15*	*.38*
	178	239	1.34
F2	*840*	*244*	*.29*
	63	*238*	*3.78*
	903	482	.53
F3	*366*	*131*	*.36*
	344	*77*	*.22*
	710	208	.29
F4	*156*	*124*	*.79*
	135	*133*	*.99*
	291	257	.88
F5	*265*	*253*	*.95*
	78	*102*	*1.31*
	343	355	1.03
F1 or F5	*0*	*0*	*nil*
	14	*34*	*2.43*
	14	34	2.43
S1	*0*	*0*	*nil*
	191	*283*	*1.48*
	191	283	1.48
S2	*586*	*219*	*.37*
	170	*516*	*3.04*
	756	735	.97
S3	*1451*	*1357*	*.94*
	356	*526*	*1.48*
	1807	1883	1.04

The numbers for "singular" and "plural" represent the number of times those pronoun forms were used in the participants' words. Within each cell the three numbers represent individual interviews, group discussions and total. Some participants in a combined group interview of F1 and F5 could not be disaggregated in transcription.

If the language people use to refer to themselves is indicative of the identity they feel within community, and not, for example, a manifestation of culture or ethnicity, then we could expect to see the plural forms used by those with a greater sense of community membership and singular forms used by those with a higher degree of individualism. This

is likely to be of particular interest in religious community life where many values are expressed in communitarian terms.[131] More specifically, is there a relationship between the level of community functionality (as measured in the Community Health scale) and these plural quotients? To help view this, the scaled plural quotients were overlaid on a graph of Community Health grouped by Congregation, as shown in Figure 7-3 below.

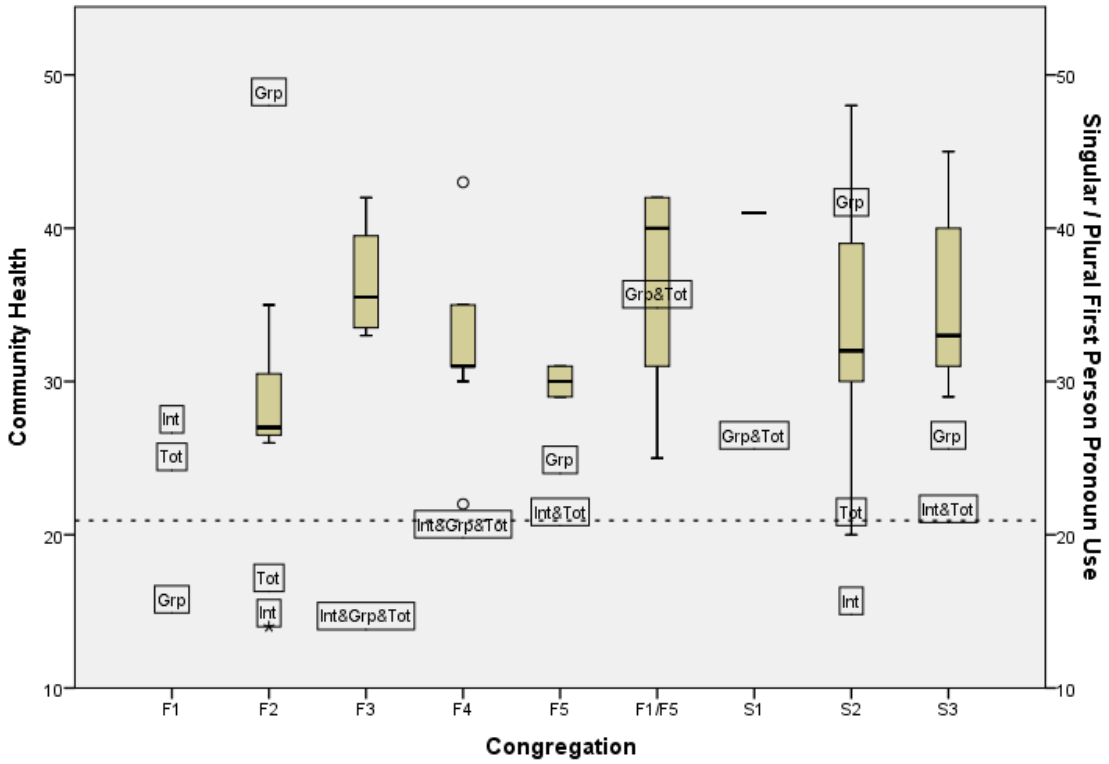

Figure 7-3: Community Health and First Person Pronoun Use by Congregation

Plural Quotients from Table 7-6 (p. 228) above are scaled to approximately the same range as the Community Health scores and superimposed on the Community Health plot. A raw score of 1 (equal use of singular and plural) corresponds to a scaled value of 20.92, indicated by the horizontal dashed line on the chart. "Int" = plural quotient for interviews; "Grp" for group discussions; "Tot" for total of interview and group.

The congregation with the lowest Community Health score (F2) had a large difference in Plural Quotient between individual interviews and group interviews. This could be explained by the content of the two interviews with members of that congregation, who talked extensively about their ministries in highly individualised terms, while in one

131. It was a general custom in pre-Vatican II religious communities to discourage use of the first person singular and to use the plural in its place, thus expressions such as "our book" or "our habit" (i.e. religious dress), instead of "my book" or "my habit." This was partly directed at avoiding a sense of individual ownership. There is still, as Wichroski (1996) observed, what she called a "culture of weness" and self-effacement in the sisters' communities she studied in the US.

of the two group discussions in which members of F2 took part their members talked extensively about the difficulties they were facing in operating their traditional ministries. S2, another congregation with a low score for Community Health also had a large difference in Plural Quotient between interviews and discussions. At times these individual interviews touched on significant difficulties the members were experiencing in their community life, so the difference between the individual and group Plural Quotients suggests that individual members felt a freedom to speak more openly than when in a group of their community members.

The combined F1/F5 represents a single discussion with a small group of young friars who spoke positively and idealistically of the value of living in community. The sisters' congregation S1 was perhaps too small for their response to be comparable with others. In general terms the women's communities represented here have a higher plural quotient than the men's communities, and generally a higher Community Health score seemed to be related to a higher Plural Quotient and a lower difference between individual and group scores, although because of the fragmentary data in many cases these patterns were hard to generalise any further beyond the suggestion offered here.

The analysis above is based on *all* the transcribed texts of the participants. Is there a difference if performed *only* on the talk relating to peacemaking activities? Text relating to such activities was already coded and the analysis was repeated on this subset, as shown in Table 7-7 (p. 231).

One obvious conclusion is that with a number of cases there was very little talk about past or present peacemaking in Sri Lanka. Some congregations had recently arrived and although experienced with such programmes as interfaith dialogues in their own countries still lacked the confidence or opportunity to promote or implement these in Sri Lanka. The data are significantly more fragmented than that of the whole dataset. Perhaps it is only F2, S2 and S3 which can be meaningfully compared. These scores were overlaid on the same Community Health graph as above, as shown in Figure 7-4 (p. 232).

Table 7-7: First Person Singular/Plural Pronoun use by Congregation—Peacemaking Activities in Sri Lanka

	Singular	**Plural**	**Plural Quotient**
	Individual	***Individual***	***Individual***
	Group	***Group***	***Group***
	Total	**Total**	**Total**
F1	*16*	*8*	*.50*
	0	*0*	*nil*
	16	8	.50
F2	*155*	*75*	*.48*
	11	*12*	*1.09*
	166	87	.52
F3	*14*	*9*	*.64*
	9	*4*	*.44*
	23	13	.57
F4	*6*	*2*	*.33*
	0	*0*	*nil*
	6	2	.33
F5	*29*	*35*	*1.21*
	1	*4*	*4.00*
	30	39	1.3
F1 or F5	*0*	*0*	*nil*
	0	*0*	*nil*
	0	0	*nil*
S1	*0*	*0*	*nil*
	16	*32*	*2.00*
	16	32	2.00
S2	*77*	*30*	*.39*
	15	*97*	*6.47*
	92	127	1.38
S3	*470*	*584*	*1.24*
	11	*76*	*6.91*
	481	660	1.37

The numbers for "singular" and "plural" represent the number of times those pronoun forms were used in the participants' words. Within each cell the three numbers represent individual interviews, group discussions and total. Some participants in a combined group interview of F1 and F5 could not be disaggregated in transcription.

There were similarities with the previous graph of the whole data set. Women's communities scored higher than men's. Looking specifically at F2, S2 and S3 there were some differences. F2's scores for group and individual were much closer and S3's further

apart. However, the group scores for each of these were derived from a much smaller set of values than their individual scores.

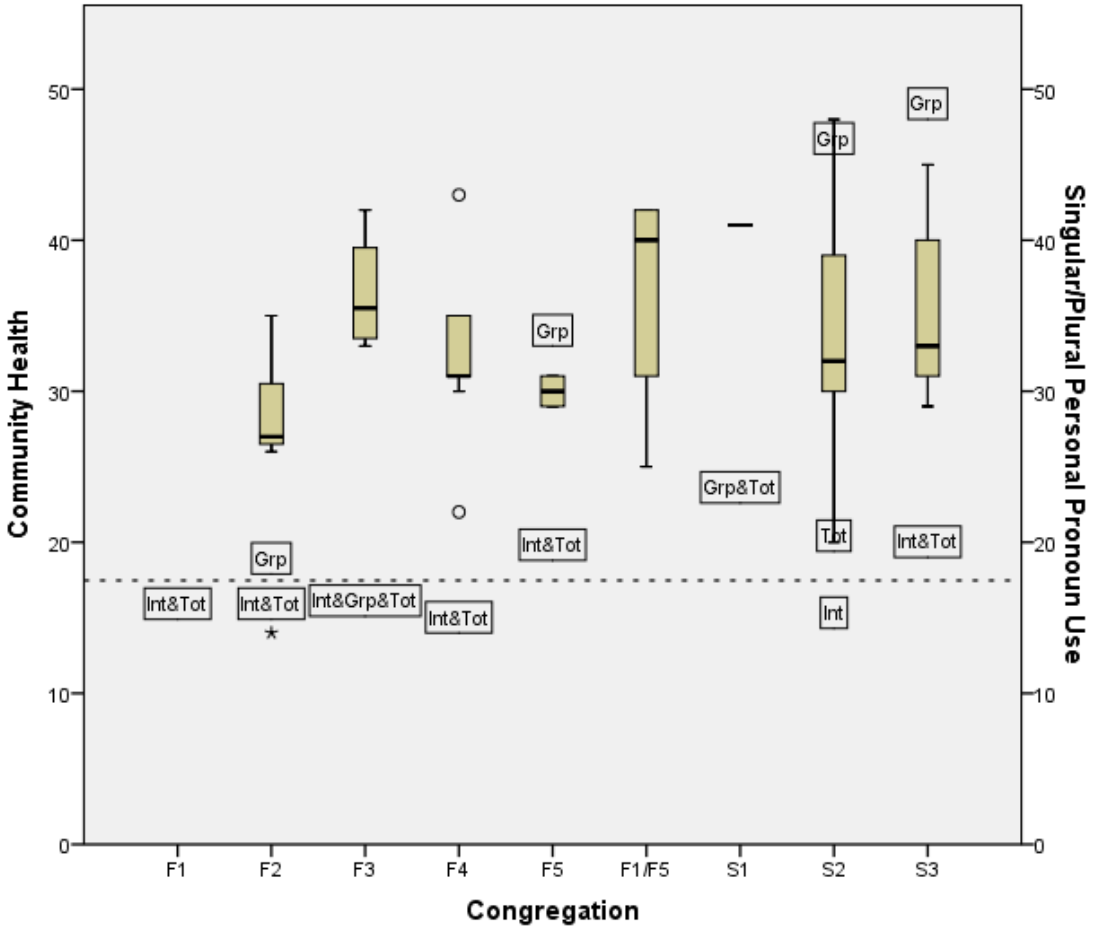

Figure 7-4: Community Health and First Person Pronoun Use by Congregation—Franciscan Peacemaking Activities in Sri Lanka

Plural Quotients from Table 7-9 (p. 231) above are scaled to approximately the same range as the Community Health scores. A raw score of 1 (equal use of singular and plural) corresponds to a scaled value of 17.47, indicated by the horizontal dashed line on the chart. "Int" = plural quotient for interviews; "Grp" for group discussions; "Tot" for total of interview and group.

In conclusion, use of singular or plural pronouns seemed to be related to perceptions of community health among the Franciscans studied here, although there are other factors not controlled for such as the nature of the discourse and there may be insufficient data across all possible cases. However, it is possible and reasonable to observe that, compared to the friars, the sisters used the plural first person forms more, and that in some of the congregations with greater community health (self-assessed by perceptions of community ability at problem solving) there was a greater use of plural pronouns.

7. 5. 4 Logistic Regression Analysis of the Relationship between Peacemaking and Community Life

The previous chapter on faith used the subscales of the Religious Schema Scale as a major predictor of participation in selected forms of peacemaking. Community Health was found to be a significant factor in several of these but not all. In this section some further analyses were carried out using binary logistic regression analysis to test if there were any significant relationships between sisters' and friars' participation in peacemaking and the Community Health scale as well as the four questions relating to community versus individual orientation. (The Secular Franciscans were excluded from this analysis since they do not live in community).

Rather than test a multiplicity of models on an increased range of factors, Model 1 of the previous chapter was used with the addition of Community Health and the four Community Life questions, (i.e. RSS, CommHealth, RelStateReduced, Education, CommLife1-4) to see if these community-focused variables were significant in any of the regressions.

The results are summarised below in Table 7-8 (p. 234) which shows that the factors related to community life had significant statistical relationships with only a few of the forms of peacemaking. These specific cases were investigated by testing several other models involving other factors as controls. (Tables for these are in Appendix 7). However, significant relationships were found in only a few cases. These were so sparse it was hard to suggest any particular pattern.

In many cases the models attempted failed to yield stable solutions. (This could be a consequence of adding extra factors, especially with a decreased dataset after excluding Secular Franciscans.) Perhaps it was more that the Community Health scale and the Community Life questions were not the most significantly related factors to peacemaking activities in these particular cases. The previous chapter showed that the Religious Schema subscales were more significant factors. Perhaps of those studied here their participation in peacemaking activities as answered in the questionnaire was more or less irrespective of their perception of the functional health of their communities or their orientation towards communitarian or individual values. However, the analysis of the interviews and discussions suggests a more nuanced response in which individual responses can be distinguished to some extent from community ones.

Table 7-8: Self-reported Participation in Peacemaking Activities Regressed on Community Health and Life

		*Model Fit**			*Factors with sig. relationships*
		OS	R^2	HL	
Advocacy	Pre**	.03	.32	.52	
	Post	<.01	.41	.68	
	Curr	.36	.17	.37	
Intermediary	Pre	.13	.28	.19	
	Post	.08	.26	.91	CL1 1.96 (.03); CL4 .37 (.02)
	Curr	.05	.29	.13	CL4 2.98 (.04)
Observer	Pre	.11	.29	.62	CL1 2.46 (.05)
	Post	.31	.20	.03	CL4 .39 (.05)
	Curr	.08	.26	.24	
Education	Pre	.07	.31	.82	
	Post	.39	.17	.47	
	Curr	.06	.27	.06	
Facilitating Understanding	Pre	.20	.27	.98	
	Post	.08	.36	.48	CL3 .56 (.02)
	Curr	<.01	.39	.63	
Nonviolent Action	Pre	.45	.19	.47	
	Post	.01	.45	.64	
	Curr	.11	.25	.36	
Dialogue other relig	Pre	<.01	.52	.83	CL4 .29 (.03)
	Post	.11	.26	.89	
	Curr	.06	.27	.55	CL2 .61 (.03)
Dialogue other Christians	Pre	.01	.35	.79	
	Post	.22	.25	.52	
	Curr	.16	.23	.27	
Liturgical activities	Pre	.34	.19	.52	
	Post	.07	.26	.70	
	Curr	.03	.30	.55	CH 1 .11 (.05)
Spiritual activities	Pre	.31	.18	.49	
	Post	.21	.21	.69	
	Curr	.01	.36	.78	

CH = Community Health scale, CL = Community Life questions. * Model fit values are OS = significance for omnibus test of model coefficients, R^2 = Nagelkerke R^2, HL = significance for Hosmer and Lemeshow test. Beta value is Exp(B), *p* is two-tailed. ** 'Pre' indicates pre May 2009; 'Post' indicates May 2009-May 2013; 'Curr' indicates May 2013. *n* = 79 (92 cases for sisters and friars after excluding Secular Franciscans, 13 cases with missing data for Community Health or Community Life).

What these findings suggest is that participants were generally taking part in various activities which they believe to be directed towards increasing peace, or promoting reconciliation, regardless of their perception of the health of their own community. This could mean that the peacemakers were doing so regardless of the internal peace they felt (or not) in their own lives. In this way, some of them were perhaps wounded healers, a suggestion also derived from the interview and discussion findings.

7. 6 Discussion

The two propositions addressed in this chapter concern (a) community life and frame alignment and (b) community life and resource mobilisation as each relates to active peacemaking.

7. 6. 1 Research Proposition 3: Community Life and Frame Alignment

This research proposition, derived in Chapter 3 above, states that Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking will, as a community, and aided by its leadership, analyse the situation, study their perspective, and together make decisions about the pros and cons of their engagement. Those who have a positive sense of community will be able to develop forms of witness which are counter-cultural (unlike those in dysfunctional communities who will be more likely to be influenced by prevailing values and opinions). Its members will be united round its commonly held goals, and feel they belong more to a family rather than hierarchical structure.

This proposition is built on the premise that those living in a functional community will experience it as a place where the conflict which naturally arises when different people live together does not become divisive. Rather, the community members will find ways of sharing their concerns and negotiating with each other so that they can grow in mutual understanding and forgiveness. Thus, community life becomes a positive experience for its members, and what they experience with each other, they try to share with those their ministries bring them among. This is in accord with the values described in Franciscan source documents and also the official statements of Franciscan congregations. In ideal terms, community is thus a place of deep committed relationships and also a witness to the world of a mission of reconciliation.

Many of the local communities observed consisted of only a handful of members living together in a particular house. In such small communities the difficulties in relationships cannot easily be ignored. There is thus the potential for a community of strong healthy relationships, or one of deep unhappiness. A small community has the flexibility to respond to the needs of those around them. The empirical evidence indicated some communities were healthy, but divisive conflict seemed endemic in others, and members were moved round in response to that conflict, taking their unhappiness with them. In these cases, the community engagement in ministry could at times be interpreted as individual escapes from unhappy communities. In contrast, those communities which seemed to have healthy ways of dealing with their internal conflicts were also able to find ways of being communities engaged in peacemaking.

There thus seemed to be two approaches to peacemaking: first, that done by communities with a high level of functional relationship enabling them, as *communities*, to frame their mission in response to the needs of those around them, and second, peacemaking done by individuals from communities with internal division, who, as *individuals*, found external peacemaking activities an escape from the internal unhappiness in their own communities, but also as a way of creating individual identities as Franciscan friars or sisters.

The forms of peacemaking varied in depth of commitment and community involvement, but also reflected ways in which each community framed its mission. For some communities, with a primary focus on training new members, their peacemaking was expressed through a frame enlargement of that purpose to include cross-ethnic or inter-religious experiences as part of the training. These were often "feel-good" projects, but their long term effectiveness has not been evaluated here. These communities, primarily of members in formation, also used the mixed ethnicity of these new members as the raw material to provide them with the experience of learning to live with "the other." A few communities of sisters had created radical new frames of presence with others, enabling them to reinterpret their life as Franciscan sisters, drawing on core values of community life and abandoning (temporarily at least) some aspects of institutional convent life.

Other communities seemed less healthy and consisted more of individuals with individual responses to the needs around them. Some of these individuals felt confined

by the narrowing of the frames of their congregation's traditional ministries in response to increased government control over the provision of social services. Others found new ways of "being Franciscans," creating strong roles for themselves as individuals.

The research proposition is confirmed in that there were communities whose members were engaged with each other in seeking to resolve their own internal conflicts while, as communities, discerning the needs of those living around them and engaging in active forms of external peacemaking. However, the unexpected result was that of individual members from relatively unhealthy communities creating solitary identities as peacemakers.

7. 6. 2 Research Proposition 4: Community Life and Resource Mobilisation

This research proposition, derived above in Chapter 3, states that Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking are expected, as a community, to know the social needs around them and study to deepen their awareness of these. Their community life itself will be a resource for peacemaking, and they will practise skills to deepen this such as conflict resolution, communal discernment and decision making. The leadership of the community will be an effective resource for the community in helping it reach its articulated goals. Within the community there will probably be a spirit of dialogue and openness whereby faith can be challenged and those who join can grow in faith. The community will understand that, although its work flows from its own religious conviction, it is directed to more universal goals.

The idea behind this proposition is that healthy community life (whose members are able to communicate well together, value and respect each other, resolve their conflicts, make decisions together and who appreciate the quality of life brought by living with those of varied ethnicity and character) will itself be a resource for external peacemaking. What the members know and experience among themselves they will share among others. This is what Arbuckle refers to as the "hope that the 'one heart and one mind,' gospel quality of their community life will positively influence outsiders close by" (Arbuckle 1989, 30). This approach to peacemaking would see members of a community working together at projects which drew on the strength of their common life, or even if the actual work was being undertaken by a specific member, the others would have some

sense of ownership in it, and would see it as a work of their community. Another assumption about the relationship between community life and peacemaking activity could be that if the community is more of what Arbuckle calls the missional (rather than relational) type, then its participation in outside ministries would be more that of individuals. Rather than drawing on the experience of community life, they might be functioning more as professional experts with particular skills. A further possibility could be that of a substantially dysfunctional community whose members find little to nourish themselves in internal relationships and who look for a substantial source of meaning externally. Negatively, this could be seen as the pain of the community externally manifested, but realistically it could be a strategy for survival by actors who lack significant agency among the people they share daily life with and who still wish to express in some way the positive faith-derived values which inspired them to join religious community life.

In communities with a higher degree of healthy functioning, their community life was positively appreciated as a resource for peacemaking. The point made most often was that the salient feature in this was the ability of members of a community to find positive ways of living with their differences. This was for them an occasion of grace and of experiencing divine help and of witness to neighbouring people that, even in civil war, people can still love each other. Some communities found these differences particularly in the mixture of ethnicities, but even in mono-ethnic communities there was also difference experienced through different personalities trying to live together. This experience was thus a positive resource, which reinforced their work as peacemakers, and was valued simply as witness of "being" rather than "doing."

Negative communities were characterised by tension, lack of trust or of fraternity/sorority, of shouting and arguing and unhappiness and ineffective decision making. In these cases, the community life did not function as a resource supporting peacemaking activities, but rather it provided members with the urge to create individual identities in external ministries. Here, it is almost the woundedness of the individual sister or friar (rather than the positive experience of community life) which is the resource brought to peacemaking.

The proposition was confirmed in two ways, both positively and negatively. Healthy functioning community life was able to use the experience of living with difference among its members as a primary part of its witness to the surrounding world, while

on the other hand relatively dysfunctional community life led to members drawing on their own woundedness as a resource with which to create new identities outside the expected roles of sister or friar.

7. 7 Conclusion

This chapter began by looking at the broader picture of religious community life in the Catholic Church and then identified some stated and observed characteristics of Franciscan communities in Sri Lanka such as living in small communities oriented to the needs of the world immediately around them. Community and the values associated with community life such as fraternal/sororal relationships were valued in principle by Franciscans.

The interview and group discussion data showed that although some participants spoke of positive aspects of community life such as being able to accept one another and live together peacefully, others experienced debilitating conflict and personal suffering. Other experiences of community were neutral—it was simply a place of common life. These experiences seemed to be pointing to aspects of community health (e.g. acceptance of each other, ability to resolve conflict peacefully) as healthy or unhealthy.

The quantitative data also showed variation in community functioning as measured though a Community Health instrument. Although this scale did not seem to be so significantly related to peacemaking activities, it was related to variation between particular congregations. A similar variation in community health was observed in the qualitative data.

Analysis of a set of questions exploring community versus individual orientation in community life showed some interesting combinations of responses. For example, those who valued the goals of community life also tended to appreciate the challenge of living in community and reported that the communities in which they lived were healthier. On the other hand, those who answered that individual ministry or mission were more important than living in community tended to describe their community in dysfunctional terms.

Participation in peacemaking was analysed through several approaches. An analysis of peacemaking by congregation concluded that those who expressed a greater degree of functionality in community life were also engaged in a wide range of peacemaking

activities, carried out both individually and as communities. Those living in less functional communities were also active to some extent in peacemaking activities, but in a more limited way, acting as individuals, and perhaps less able to find positive ways of dealing with trauma in those they ministered to. An analysis by time period suggests that the healthier communities were able to sustain peacemaking (both individual and communal) over a longer term, whereas the less healthy communities, although they had particular responses to some of the needs of the day, had less longer-term resilience. Analysis of singular and plural pronoun use showed that, compared to the friars, the sisters used the plural first person forms more, and that in some of the congregations with greater community health (self-assessed by perceptions of community ability at problem solving) there was a greater use of plural pronouns. Finally, analysis of the questionnaire returns by logistic regression analysis showed that the factors related to community life had significant statistical relationships with only a few of the forms of peacemaking. It was harder to draw any conclusion here, except perhaps that participants were generally taking part in various activities directed towards increasing peace, or promoting reconciliation, regardless of their perception of the health of their own community. This could mean that they were doing so regardless of the internal peace they felt in their own communities. In this way, some of them are perhaps wounded healers, a suggestion also derived from the interview and discussion findings.

The research propositions concern the experience of community life in (a) helping a community frame its identity as peacemakers, and (b) as a resource for peacemaking. The answer to this is somewhat tentative and more nuanced than might have been initially expected. Healthy forms of community life do seem to foster wide participation in different forms of peacemaking and give resilience to communities so that they can sustain such participation over a period of time despite the inevitable difficulties of long-term trauma, fear of government interference, or simply internal community disputes. The answer is less clear for the less functional communities. They do seem to foster more individual activity, but perhaps this activity is neither easily sustained nor able to respond to changing circumstances.

Chapter 8 Living as a Franciscan

8. 1 Introduction

The previous chapters considered aspects of faith and community life in relation to participation by Franciscans in peacemaking in Sri Lanka. This chapter will specifically examine what it is to be Franciscan, and address the propositions concerning Franciscan identity and (a) frame alignment and (b) resource mobilisation.

The fieldwork was carried out in very specifically Franciscan environments. Most of the friaries or convents visited had signs identifying themselves as Franciscan, either explicitly by name or by images, such as particular crosses, statues or mottoes and the members wore habits or other distinctive clothing which, as well as being a sign of religious identity, also declared membership in a particular Franciscan congregation.

Each Franciscan congregation has its own history. Some are members of the order which was founded by Francis of Assisi, or of reformed branches of this. Others, particularly sisters, are members of congregations founded more recently to do particular works and which claim some degree of Franciscan identity. Some of these sisters' congregations were founded or co-founded by friars, and have some connection with the congregation of their (co)-founder. Among the individual members of a congregation the answers to such questions such as "who is St Francis for you?" "which writings of Francis inspire you?" "what stories do you know about Francis and peace?" delineate Franciscan identities shaped by particular beliefs, values and knowledge and which are expressed in particular ways of acting.

Franciscan identity for a new trainee is introduced by a process called *formation* which aims through the experience of liminality to provide the participant with the means to "put on" a new identity and thus to make the transition to "being Franciscan." For friars and sisters this transition also helps them move from being individuals to people who live in community, and along with Secular Franciscans, formation includes the means to help them discover and appropriate a more mature faith. This happens through a combination of formal means such as study and reflection (friars and sisters spend some time living in a novitiate, a house set aside for formation) and also informally through getting to know other Franciscans of the same congregation.

Thus, the Franciscan identity is more than just knowledge of Francis of Assisi, his life, his teachings, or his values, but includes the decisions to live in particular ways, in response to the needs of the times, drawing on the resource of Franciscan tradition.

8. 2 Franciscan Identity

The original order founded by Francis of Assisi went through multiple phases of "reform and division,"[132] each division driven by disagreement over Francis' true intentions and how best to express these. It would seem that the Franciscan Order was inherently unable to deal with conflict, other than by division. Following Pope Leo XIII's 1897 union of a number of disparate Franciscan congregations, this stream of Franciscan life was organised into three branches which collectively form the First Order of Friars Minor. Other Catholic Franciscan congregations are either in some way related to the Third Order Regular, (itself a development of the Order of Penitents, for some of whom Francis wrote a rule of life; some of these then began to live together to support each other through fraternal life), or are independent foundations, usually from the late 19th or early 20th century. The present day Secular Franciscan Order also traces its origins to the rule of life written by Francis for members of the Order of Penitents.

Each part of what is often known as the Franciscan Family has different origins, but regardless of this, there are many values or understandings of Francis which are common to all, although these may be expressed in ways which reflect each congregation's particular character.

The congregations studied here maintain official websites at their national (or provincial) level in Sri Lanka, or at their international (or general) level. These sites are a source of information on how they understand their specific Franciscan identity and its expression in their life and external ministries. These sources were examined, particularly to see how they described their identity in the opening statements of their official documents such as Constitutions, or if these were not available, in the sections of their websites such as "Who we are," or "Our charism." [133]

132. "Reform and Division" are the opening words of the title of Nimmo's work on early Franciscan history, (Nimmo 1987).
133. See Appendix 8, p. 366.

Although these documents cannot be directly compared since they vary in form and length and are selected from much larger websites, a set of ideal values or understandings of Franciscan identity can be derived such as:

- Franciscan life is inherently a form of Christian witness, resulting in a life oriented to the Gospel of Jesus Christ.
- Human relationships in community life are esteemed for both mutual support and witness to others.
- Francis of Assisi lived a life of radical simplicity, service and truth.
- Franciscans today are inspired by Francis' ideals, and try to express these in the varied situations of the world today.
- The internal life of Franciscans is marked by prayer which leads to deepening relationship with God. Poverty and simplicity are particular values.
- Forms of external relationship are varied and flow from the values identified in the points above. They are essentially seen as forms of Christian service, preaching through deeds, in varied contexts, among Christians and those of other faiths alike.

Do these points define "Franciscan identity"? Each congregation has its own flavour, but the common points above delineate the shape of that identity to some extent. Some congregations explicitly include peacemaking among their activities, usually in the context of related concerns such as reconciliation, creation and justice. Peacemaking, however, is not the only dimension of external activity.

Statements of intent in the websites quoted here are just that; they represent an orientation and a goal rather than reality. Nevertheless, by publication of these statements they are a public statement of a congregation's values.[134]

134. One of the congregations surveyed has put large posters of its mission statement in the public entrances of its convents so that the public can be informed of what the sisters hold themselves to, and so that the sisters themselves are reminded of this public expectation.

8. 3 Qualitative Findings

8. 3. 1 Overview of Themes

In this section the voices of the Franciscan sisters, friars and Seculars heard in the interviews and discussions are examined by asking what they know of and how they describe their identity as *Franciscans*. Statements about religious identity had already been grouped into five major themes (religious belief, practice, experience, knowledge and effects) following the categories developed by Stark and Glock in their major study of patterns of religious commitment and consequences (Stark and Glock 1968).[135] Stark and Glock developed these dimensions as a way of studying religiosity in a general way, independent of religion, but these dimensions were also a useful tool for analysing a very specific form of religiosity, i.e. Catholic Franciscan life (in both its community and Secular forms). In a Franciscan context the dimensions were expressed as follows.

- **Franciscan Belief**. The *ideological* dimension, reflecting adherence to specifically Franciscan values held as personal belief, e.g. "Francis is my healer and peacemaker," or as part of a deepening relationship to Francis.
- **Franciscan Practice**. The *ritualistic* dimension. Use of specifically Franciscan prayers or devotions.
- **Franciscan Experience**. The *experiential* dimension. Feeling that one is inspired, helped, or healed by Francis.
- **Franciscan Knowledge**. The *intellectual* dimension. Knowing about Francis (his life and characteristics), Franciscan sources, the writings of Francis, Franciscan prayers.
- **Franciscan Effects**. The *consequential* dimension. The above dimensions are ones of commitment, but this dimension represents the effects of that commitment lived out in daily life. Specifically, in this context, how a Franciscan lives and the ministries he or she engages in.

In practice these dimensions were not always able to be clearly identified, and the data in the group discussions were often fairly fragmentary. However, the examples

135. The scales developed by Glock and Stark for religiosity have been critiqued (see section 2.3.4.1, p. 26), but not their basic analysis of the *dimensions* of religiosity.

below give an indication of how all the Glock and Stark religiosity dimensions were expressed as two participants talked about their vocations. The related dimension is indicated within the text (e.g. <experience>).

> Friar F08, as a young teenager, had read a life of Francis.
>
> And that inspired me to see something beyond, that Francis always stood for. … All that really touched me <experience>, and I said, it is worth, worth following Francis <belief>. … Later I came to know about Franciscans who are living a simple poor life <knowledge>. So that is, and especially the prayer <practice>. These three things [simplicity, poverty and prayer] for which I have heard of Franciscans <knowledge>, and with that intention I joined. And those are intentions I do live today<effects>.

> Another example is provided by Sister S03
>
> You know for me, to be a Franciscan means—to be a faithful follower of Christ, you know, the gospel <effects>. And the gospel is—the message of the gospel is love and peace <knowledge>. So for me it's very very clear that as a Franciscan I have to look to that gospel and give the gospel. And, in a country like this, to be a Franciscan means—to be a—bridge, to be a builder of peace, a builder of relationships <effects>, and—I think—Francis wherever he went he brought that peace, you know. People were at ease with him, creation was at ease with him, because he had so much of peace within <knowledge>. So first of all, I had to cultivate that, that peace within me <effect>. So that's, that's my Franciscan vocation.

8. 3. 2 Theme by theme analysis

First, the specifically Franciscan elements of the four dimensions of religious commitment (belief, practice, experience and knowledge) were considered one by one as they appeared in the interviews and discussions. Secondly, these were brought together in comparison with the other dimension of religious identity: consequence, and specifically, peacemaking. The four dimensions of commitment were analysed only from the perspective of the Franciscan content in them. This is not to discount the effect of wider perspectives, but to focus on how participants understand and express their identity specifically as Franciscans.

8. 3. 2. 1 Franciscan Belief

This *ideological* dimension reflects adherence to specifically Franciscan values or relationship with Francis held as a personal belief. At times it was hard to distinguish this from opinion or an effect of belief. For example, belief in God as the loving and effective creator of all can lead to the consequential understanding that all people are equally valuable, since they are made in God's image; hence what seems to be expressed as a belief *about* the value of humankind is more an effect of belief *in* a good creator.

Among the specifically Franciscan beliefs was that of belief in Francis as healer or helper. This was especially articulated by the Secular Franciscans. "When she[136] gets sick, or when she gets fever, when she takes his cross she gets healing. So that is, she has the faith in him [Francis]" (W02). "I see St Francis has given me this opportunity which I asked in 2000 to do something, a little way even. So that's why I am committed" (W01).

This relationship was expressed in particularly familial terms by one friar, for whom Francis was "model" and "father." "I have no one here to love and to protect, to guide and love. You are the person who mediate everything" (F03).

Francis was spoken of here and by other participants as if he was still alive. In Catholic terms he is not a deity but a saint, an intercessor whose favours can be prayed for, and whose life is an example. Sister S04 felt that "when I see Francis is very much alive, … it's a message for people today." When she took part in meetings with people who prayed "Make me a channel of your peace" she felt that they have come to "share a lot of their … family problems, how they are difficult to forgive sometime their own brother or sister." She observed that people found inspiration for embracing difficulties from reflection on Francis living amongst the lepers. For her these were "small examples to say for me Francis is today very much alive and he has a message … for me and for the ordinary people" (S04).

In Christian theological terms one cannot "believe in" Francis in the same way as one "believes in" God or Jesus Christ since Francis is neither creator nor saviour, yet as a (Sinhalese) Sri Lankan friar who was present during the group discussion with the (Tamil) Secular Franciscan group observed afterwards, "their devotional relationship to

136. The interpreter is referring to the speaker in the third person as "she."

Francis is very like that of bhakti, which is part of Saivism—the dominant Tamil form of Hinduism"[137] (Field log, 8 May 2013).

An example of this devotional approach to Francis was seen in the way a Secular Franciscan spoke of her participation in organising peace activities as resulting from a prayer she made to Francis, "St Francis, make use of me, to do a little bit of the work that you have done, some day" (W01). As noted above, some participants spoke of their pastoral ministries (such as prayer for healing) as related to their Franciscan belief. When visiting patients in hospital they told them, "if you want to be healed you ask Francis of Assisi, then he will heal" (W03).

In Table 8-1 (p. 254) and Table 8-2 (p. 255) and the following discussion there is a comparison of the number of participants who stated some "Franciscan belief" with their peacemaking activities.

8. 3. 2. 2 Franciscan Practice

This *ritualistic* dimension took particular shape in the use of specifically Franciscan prayers or devotions, and other devotions which, though originally Franciscan, have acquired a much wider use.

In some aspects, this dimension could not exist independently of the belief dimension, since when intercessory prayer is offered to a saint it is on the belief that that saint has some ability to answer the prayer. A Secular Franciscan woman found great help in particular Franciscan prayers, "In her family life she has a lot of problems, but she always pray to the stigmatas prayers,[138] and this [is] very helpful for her. So she likes that" (W04). Such prayer would be possible for her only if she believed that Francis was able to answer it in some way.

Some participants had been used to a range of Franciscan devotional practices which were no longer followed. "Earlier we were used to daily after the breviary, this morning prayer, used to pray—the Francis of Assisi's prayer" (S01). One sister commented on the personal change she had experienced from practising "simple" devotions to St Francis such as kissing relics, singing hymns, and offering prayers to Francis, to

137. Bhakti is defined in footnote 96 (p. 126).
138. The reference to the stigmata is to the wounds of Christ on the cross. Francis himself is believed to have been miraculously granted these same wounds in his own body.

what she regarded as seeing a greater orientation to the world. “I try to live the Spirit in my life and also to inculcate for the people, all around you know. It’s not easy but that move from devotion to living out his, that spirit of Francis” (S04). She reflected on lay-women coming to the convent, wanting to offer flowers and a lamp at the statue of Francis. “Some of them are attached by that devotion. Because I think it’s the first time they are having these things that come to know Francis.” She suggests that maybe it is through such devotion that people can “come to know who [Francis] is and what he lived.” Such devotions she believes are for “beginners,” and although they are important “little by little, [people] have to go deeper” (S04).

Popular religious participation, pre-Vatican II, included a wide range of individual devotions, but the reforms led to greater emphasis on participation in the Mass and daily office. Although there might not have been much specifically Franciscan identity-defining element in the religious practice there was still a Franciscan component to it, such as the frequently referred to use of the Franciscan peace prayer.

In Table 8-1 (p. 254) and Table 8-2 (p. 255) and the following discussion there is a comparison of the number of participants who stated some “Franciscan practice” with their peacemaking activities.

8. 3. 2. 3 Franciscan Experience

This *experiential* dimension is represented specifically by the feeling that one is inspired, helped, or healed by Francis. Many spoke of being inspired by Francis and his values, often poverty and simplicity, in their feeling of vocation. “To follow the simple way of St Francis. And—being with the people, like St Francis lived” (S19). “He attracted me actually. Francis. That how one person can love humanity, and especially the ecology I like very much. His love for nature. … I came to know that really Francis was a good man” (F12). “[Francis] was experiencing that inner joy. Inner contentment. So that was what always touched me. How can this man be? Unless he has the deep connectedness with God. … So this was what always attracted me” (S10).

Some participants experienced Francis in the call to a particular way of living, forming their identity as Franciscans. “My service for all. Not limited by anything. … It is for … wherever my need is—God is calling me that I am there. That is the different of being a Franciscan for me” (S13).

Francis was also a continuing source of strength and inspiration. “It’s the inspiration of our—I mean the strength of our charism” (S13). “In community life I found sometime we are very close to each other and we are sick and look after each other. … If I am an open person I will share. So I found in that way Franciscan spirit is very much alive in our communities” (S17).

Such affective language was in accord with a frequent observation among Franciscans and others that Franciscans were people particularly oriented to feelings and experience.

In Table 8-1 (p. 254) and Table 8-2 (p. 255) and the following discussion there is a comparison of the number of participants who stated some “Franciscan experience” with their peacemaking activities.

8. 3. 2. 4 Franciscan Knowledge

This *intellectual* dimension was the easiest to observe. What did participants know about Francis or the values he personified, his writings, or the writings of others about him?

Participants frequently spoke of a range of values associated with Francis such as his love for all, his joy, peace, simplicity, poverty, his following the gospel of Jesus Christ or living in fraternal equality with all of creation. These are basic elements of Franciscan understanding and could also been seen in a wide range of literature, such as the websites for each congregation. They were expressed as ideals for Franciscans today and often what attracted people to join. “He didn’t own anything, and he just emptied himself so he got the freedom, enough freedom, and he walked freely” (S09). “[Francis was] a person of harmonious relationship, he was able to relate with everybody, with even the nature, the animals and people everywhere. He was able to relate harmoniously” (S24). “I decided, this is the life of simplicity, and that was the attraction” (F01).

Apart from these very commonly mentioned basic values, others stated that for them he was a true revolutionary, a challenge to society and church, who was at the same time loyal to the church. Francis was a human and a layman (and thus perceived to be more accessible) and also a person who in following Christ, “embraced the cross; when the suffering comes, he embraced it” (S01).

It was difficult to find a useful pattern for further analysis in the responses about these values, but the way in which different Franciscans knew of or used the *writings* by or about Francis provided a useful analytic tool.

Although the corpus of early Franciscan writing is comparatively small there is a rich fund of stories about Francis, collected by the writers of the early lives about him, as well as a smaller body of texts written by Francis which recent Franciscan scholarship has made more accessible to non-specialists. Participants were asked which Franciscan texts or stories they found most inspiring, or were their favourites. The most frequently mentioned of the stories about Francis included Francis and the Sultan (17 references), and Francis and the Wolf of Gubbio (17 references).[139] Other frequently referred to incidents are the story of Francis and the Leper (9 references), and the story of Perfect Joy [at equanimity in the face of rejection] (6 references). Among the other writings the most frequently mentioned were the Peace Prayer (14 references) and the Rule and Constitutions (8 references). These are texts which were often used as inspiration and resource for peacemaking and reconciliation.

A few examples of the use of one of these stories, that of Francis bringing about reconciliation between the people of Gubbio and a fierce wolf which was destroying their livestock and threatening their ability to work freely outside the city walls, shows how a medieval legend can be inspirational for contemporary Franciscans.

"[Francis] was able to make a *bold* move towards reconciling the wolf and the people. That story keep on inspiring me" (F16) [emphasis in original]. "Yes, I was inspired by Francis because he is facing his fear" (F17). "That story I like because of a lot of things what we live here and in my life also … bringing people together" (S04). These were voices from the group discussions, but a sister in an interview spoke more reflectively of this story as an example of nonviolence.

> He went unarmed and he had a lot of confidence of the presence of Jesus within himself. And he trusted in the wolf itself, whatever that wolf was. It could be a human being or it could be really the animal. He had lot of trust that he would respond and the respect with which he approached. All that, I have a whole lot of reflection on that incident where the value of nonviolence is and the love and that respect (S03).

139. For the text of these and a selection of other references see Appendix 2.

Although this story was a basic resource for Franciscans, the large group of Secular Franciscans who participated had never heard of it. Further discussion about this showed that they lacked training materials, their isolation exacerbated by language and geography.

A few participants who had had the opportunity for deeper study of Franciscan sources drew their inspiration from a wider range of sources. What is interesting is that these participants were often also particularly involved in leadership roles and active engagement in peacemaking. One example was a friar who spoke of the inspiration he found in the *Testament* of Francis.[140]

> It's really the story of Francis and his first brothers and the encounter with the leper and—it's really the encounter of what it means to do peacemaking because the leper was the *excluded* one and he, that is what made him realise that was his life before. It was excluding people. … And at the end he saw … by encountering the lepers of his times that he encountered the Leper in capital letters. Namely, Jesus who is the Leper (F10).

For him, peacemaking began in looking for the broken relationships experienced as exclusion, and then through encountering the excluded one, coming to the realisation that one was meeting Christ.

A sister found inspiration in Francis' words to his brothers, "This is what the Lord showed me. May the Lord show you the way."[141] She had come to learn that Francis did not lay down instructions, even though he was the founder; "not a strict rule as such." He was chosen by God to bring this "new awakening," but simply replied "Okay, you are called by God so let God show you the way." This saying was "very important" for her. "The way we treat our community, those who are in our care. … That helps me to give a lot of [faith?] to the others. And to accept the differences. Not only accept it, it's sort of interesting experience to know that there are so many sides to the same part" (S03).

Knowledge of Franciscan sources seemed to be a dimension with interesting variations. At one end were a distinct group, prevented by geography and language from

140. The short document Francis wrote shortly before his death in which he sets out what he considers the essential elements of his life. This was partly a corrective to the text already approved as the *Rule*, in which he felt perhaps that pragmatic considerations had weakened some of his essential principles.
141. She is probably referring to a text from the *Testament*, "And after the Lord gave me some brothers, no one showed me what I had to do, but the Most High Himself revealed to me that I should live according to the pattern of the Holy Gospel" (*Testament*: 14. (FA:ED 1, 125)).

access to Franciscan formation or printed texts, and who consequently knew very little of the Franciscan story. They had however, a richly developed personal devotional approach to Francis as saint. Round the middle of the spectrum was a majority, whose resources were a smaller body of texts, mainly a few well known stories about Francis, and the Franciscan peace prayer, *Lord make me an instrument of your peace*. These texts were instrumental in creating their particular identity as Franciscans. For example, popular stories, such as Francis and the Wolf of Gubbio, were a resource which inspired them to value peacemaking and to see themselves perhaps as like Francis himself, fearless in helping reconcile parties in conflict. The peace prayer functioned not only as a devotional resource but as a marker of Franciscan identity. If painted on a convent wall, or printed on a banner, it defined as Franciscan the space and the people gathered in it. At the other end were a small number of friars and sisters, more an elite, who were familiar with texts less known to others, particularly from the writings *of* Francis, rather than stories *about* him. These texts, although not so immediately attractive as the appealing stories and popular prayers, were able to yield a great depth of understanding through the interpretative skills which study fostered in this elite.

Unlike the dimensions of Franciscan belief, practice and experience considered above, the dimension of knowledge of Franciscan sources and writings seemed more varied. Accordingly, rather than coding participants simply as "positive" or "unassigned" as previously, in this dimension they were coded as "high," "low," or "unassigned." The "sources – low" coding was for participants who referred only to the most frequently used texts and prayers (Francis and the Wolf of Gubbio, Francis and the Sultan, and the Franciscan Peace Prayer), the "sources – high" coding for participants whose knowledge included other texts as well. Participants with "high" or "low" knowledge of sources were cross tabulated against their peace activities in Table 8-1 (p. 254) and Table 8-2 (p. 255).

8. 3. 2. 5 Peacemaking as a Consequence

The interviews and discussions carried a great deal of data about the *consequential* dimension of religious commitment which were grouped into several broad categories, viz. (1) trying to live by particular values, (2) living in community with other Franciscans (for friars and sisters), (3) external ministries such as performing particular works. Some of these consequences were identified explicitly as Franciscan, but many were not.

The focus of analysis here was specifically peacemaking in relation to the Franciscan dimensions of belief, practice, experience and knowledge as described in the above sections. The starting point was to cross-tabulate these Franciscan dimensions with the numbers of participants who reported participation as peacemaker (see Table 8-1, p. 254) over two broad time periods (see Table 8-2, p. 255).

Several things stand out from these tables. Although there were only a few participants reported here, the lack of a positive response does not necessarily indicate that others were not peacemaking; just that this did not emerge in the interviews. The dimension of faith in Francis seemed more related to the faith of some who regarded him as an effective healer or a kind of divine miracle worker and not so related to forming an identity as Franciscan peacemakers. Participation in Franciscan ritual was not extensively noted here. It was not the particular subject of any interview question, but emerged in the way some correspondents spoke about the ritual elements in their life. A tentative pattern can be seen in the words of the two sisters quoted above in Section 8.3.2.2 (p. 247). For them, devotional practices (with statues, offerings of flowers, special prayers) were things they *used* to do, and they still encounter with some of the lay people they work among, but now these sisters have tried to go deeper, and to create a way of being Franciscan which engages more with the direct needs of the people they serve.

A number of participants were coded positive on Franciscan experience and also had a high level of participation in peacemaking activities. This represents those who spoke of being inspired, helped or healed by Francis. The peacemaking activities with particularly high scores were those which would require being present in situations of conflict, such as advocacy or facilitating understanding, or those which would require some degree of long-term commitment, such as providing a witness of life, participating in development programmes or providing pastoral ministries. A similar pattern was present with those coded with a high (but not low) knowledge of Franciscan sources. There was a proportionally smaller representation of those who were coded for expressing belief in St Francis, but the numbers coded for participation in Franciscan ritual were so small as not to show any pattern.

Table 8-1: Franciscan Belief, Practice, Experience and Knowledge Cross-Tabulated with Peacemaking Activity—by Form

	Number of Participants Coded For:				
	Belief in St Francis	*Participation in Franciscan Ritual*	*Franciscan Experience*	*Franciscan Knowledge (sources – low)*	*Franciscan Knowledge (sources – high)*
Peacemaking Activity – by Form					
01. Advocacy	3	1	5	1	4
02. Intermediary	1	0	3	0	2
03. Observer	0	0	0	0	0
04. Education	2	1	4	0	7
05. Facilitating understanding between parties in conflict	4	1	9	2	8
06. Nonviolent action	0	0	6	1	1
07. Dialogue with other religions	2	1	3	2	3
08. Dialogue with other Christians	0	0	0	0	0
09. Liturgical activities for peace	0	0	0	0	0
10. Spiritual activities	2	1	5	0	5
11. Pastoral	3	2	8	2	6
12. Witness	5	2	12	3	9
13. Development	5	2	9	1	8
14. Humanitarian aid	2	0	5	1	5
15. Animating or administering movements or entities such as JPIC	2	0	6	1	6
16. Unspecified	2	0	4	0	6

Table 8-2: Franciscan Belief, Practice, Experience and Knowledge Cross-Tabulated with Peacemaking Activity—by Period

	Number of Participants Coded For:				
	Belief in St Francis	*Participation in Franciscan Ritual*	*Franciscan Experience*	*Franciscan Knowledge (sources – low)*	*Franciscan Knowledge (sources – high)*
Peacemaking Activity – by Period					
A. Past participation	6	2	10	3	9
B. Current or very recent participation	5	2	18	3	16
C. Explicit non participation	0	0	0	0	1
D. Difficulty in participation	3	1	7	3	6
E. As possibility	5	1	8	3	7

Are there connections between these Franciscan dimensions? This two tables do not show the potential connections between them. Is there any pattern in the responses when they are looked at in various combinations?

Consideration of the interview data suggested several distinct features in the participants. There were some Franciscans characterised particularly by a faith approach to Francis. They believed in Francis as an active helper, healer or peacemaker. This seemed related to participation in ritual activity, such as prayer, which expressed this belief. There were some who spoke in the affective dimension of feeling inspired by Francis. Within the Franciscan knowledge dimension there was considerable variation between the commonly known "basic" facts of Francis' life and writings, and that known by only a much smaller elite.

8. 3. 2. 6 Franciscan Roles

An attempt was made to quantify this qualitative data to see if there were identifiable "roles" of Franciscans, or ways of being Franciscan. The participants at each combination of the four variables of the belief, practice, experience and knowledge (of sources)

dimensions were counted. For many participants at least one variable was not specified; this does not imply that the variable was absent, simply that no statement about it was recorded in the interviews or discussions. In order to compare this with peacemaking participation, a table was constructed, each cell of which represented one of the possible combinations of the four dimensions and which contained the number of participants and (in brackets) the reported occurrences of past and current peacemaking. This is below in Table 8-3.

Table 8-3: Number of Participants by Combinations of Franciscan Belief, Practice, Experience and Knowledge, with Past and Current Participation in Peacemaking Activities

				Belief			
				NS*		Positive	
				Practice		Practice	
				NS*	Positive	NS*	Positive
Experience	NS*	Knowledge	NS*	50 (11,8)	0	0	0
			Low	4 (1,2)	0	1 (1,0)	0
			High	9 (1,5)	0	0	0
	Positive	Knowledge	NS*	8 (1,6)	0	0	1 (0,0)
			Low	6 (0,0)	0	0	1 (1,1)
			High	9 (4,7)	0	3 (3,3)	1 (1,1)

NS=Not Specified. Some participants are coded for both past and present peacemaking activities; hence the total of these is sometimes more than the number of participants.

There do not seem to be sufficient responses to see any particular pattern. Generally, the combinations of Franciscan dimensions with most participants also had the higher reported participation in peacemaking activities.

It is still possible that there are distinct groups within these combinations. Not counting the combination representing "not specified" for all variables, most participants fell into the different combinations of the *experience* and the *knowledge* dimensions; a few of which were also positive in the *belief* dimension.

The six possible combinations of knowledge of sources and experience (ignoring variation in belief and practice) were selected for further analysis, as shown in Table 8-4 below.

Table 8-4: Number of Participants by Franciscan Experience and Knowledge of Sources, with Past and Current Participation in Peacemaking Activities

		Experience	
		NS	Positive
Knowledge	NS	50 (11,8)	9 (1,6)
	Low	5 (2,2)	7 (1,1)
	High	9 (1,5)	13 (8,11)

It is possible that the combination of high knowledge of Franciscan sources and high Franciscan experience (such as feelings of inspiration by Francis) creates an engaged form of Franciscanism. Could this be seen in the types of peacemaking activity being carried out? It was difficult to conclusively argue this from small numbers, but some case studies drawn from the interviews and group discussions perhaps can at least make this plausible and suggest ways in which a strongly developed sense of Franciscan identity can relate to involvement in peacemaking.

The 13 participants who were coded positive for experience and high for knowledge of sources were identified from the cross tabulation: two of them (F03 and S13) are compared below.

During the final years of the civil war when many internally displaced persons were detained in camps, Friar F03 had acted as an interpreter between them and Sinhalese police or army officers. As a friar he had access to the refugees, since Catholic clergy and religious community members were already trusted as providers of humanitarian relief, but his ability in three languages gave him access to all sides in a deeper way. This brought difficulties since he had to negotiate distrust not only from both sides, but also from his friends. “When I was just starting my work at [place name omitted] with the refugees and people, LTTE doubted [i.e. suspected] that I am supporting army. Army is … taking a keen interest in me because I’m supporting LTTE. … All my friends started doubting me, because I am helping LTTE.” He replied that he was “helping only suffering … So they

[the army] started, slowly they realised that we are mediator, like helping the people. Not supporting anyone."

He was able to overcome the distrust by interpreting his work as helping the *suffering people*. For him, the focus on suffering, regardless of other status, became the lens through which he viewed his work. He was inspired in this by the Franciscan peace prayer, but recognised the dissonance between what this prayer inspired in him and the work actually being done in Sri Lanka.

> And we can say the same prayer. Lord make me an instrument of your peace. … We have to take a prophetic role, but we can't take it in Sri Lanka. We have to take a prophetic role. That is inside. The guilty feeling is there, because we are preaching, preaching, doing some services, like. But we are not prophetic. We are not. We need to face the challenges. We don't want to fight with the government. They come to know we are having some meeting or other, immediately they will come and search, or they will investigate. The situation is such in Sri Lanka. … They will interpret anything and everything. Against the government. Whether good or bad, the religious, or anything (F03).

Among Franciscans (or the Catholic Church generally) he found a lack of prophetic witness, and in the area to which he had been recently posted, (one with a Tamil and Hindu majority), he found it a challenge to overcome the idea that he was trying to forcibly convert people. "They don't know the other way, that's why I used to started that I want to show, that I want to tell them that we are not … fanatics, we are not a converting people, we are servants of God, we are peacemakers, we are not fighters." He found his identity as someone who came to help others. "See we are instrument of the peace. … We are ready to help you; we are ready to serve you" (F03).

Christianity has had a strong missionary imperative and so it can be a challenge for Christians to find ways of living with integrity among other faiths. This friar found a theological self-understanding that distinguished between religion as an external manifestation and widely held universal, internalised values such as love.

> Only as an outward, I would show that I am a Catholic, but inside, I am human. With Christ, I am a very ordinary human, so I know my religion is humanism, with the love. Outside I have to be on a religion, at least Hindu, Muslim, like that I am a Catholic, okay. But inside Jesus doesn't have any religion. He is not a Christian. He was not a Christian. He came for love. He stood for love and lived for love and died for love. So I am also like that, I don't have any religion inside. Outside, I have of course, I have to follow, or they chase me up. So inside, nothing is there. You come. All people will come, I never utter a single word that

> I am a Catholic, so you are like that, no. I said, what is the problem? Trust God, God will help you, God will guide you, God will heal you. I have nothing to do with you, only he can, you trust him (F03).

This friar, similar to many others, referred to Francis and his visit to Sultan Malek-al-Kamil (frequently used by Franciscans as a pattern for interfaith dialogue), and drew inspiration from the Franciscan peace prayer. However, an additional Franciscan fact he mentioned was the difficulty Francis had in getting the pope to accept the Rule for the order, "He could have argued with the pope. What did you do that? Arguing. Just keep on with what the pope said, simply to live" (F03). His identity as a Franciscan and peacemaker seemed to draw on a level of creative thought which was able to find ways of overcoming difficulties.

A similar picture was presented by Sister S13. Her daily life was grounded in what she describes as "personal prayer life and daily meditation and also my eucharistic adoration that gives more strength to face a difficult situation." Whatever she experienced through this prayer, she wanted to share with others, especially those younger. "Women and children have become the vulnerable group today and they are the people who suffer so much in this society, in every way. So, I think that their stories have become my—the strength for my vocation to become more strength, to find more and more what God is." The needs of others became for her a source of strength, to drive her forward in seeking God. In this she used as resource not only the well-known story of Francis and the wolf of Gubbio, but also Franciscan sources not referred to by others such as how Francis broke his fast to share food with a brother who found the fast unbearable.[142] "There also, I see that how he was able to understand the human feeling of the other." For her, Francis, and these stories about him represented a "presence of God and the power of prayer" (S13).

She took a very simple Franciscan prayer and made it her daily request for guidance.

> I always think of along with Saint Francis … "Lord what do you want me to do?" So this is my daily prayer, because every day I had to ask this from without. I don't know what is what will happen today and tomorrow. But only if I search it—to search it and seek what God want

142. Thomas of Celano. *The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul* 22 (FA:ED 2, 259).

> me to do. Only then, God will reveal it to me, and he will guide it to me, and to show me where I have to go (S13).

This prayer gave structure not only for her daily life but for the coming year. In praying it she was doing more than requesting something for herself, she was in a sense aligning herself with Francis and his words in searching for God's will.

> Even every year when I end before the other year begins, what I used to say to my Lord, Thank you very much all what you have done to me, but I offer all what is happening to my life coming year, and I said I leave everything to you. Do with me whatever you want but give me only the strength and courage, so that is the only item. So, this is the same thing what Saint Francis asked every time. Throughout his life he was searching and asking God's will. What do you want me to do? (S13).

Francis too was an inspiration for her: he became a source of blessing for others and for her, to be a Franciscan was to do the same.

> I always think that Francis became a blessing every time. Wherever he went he bless. He … asked the blessing of God, and he started to bless people. Finally, he became a blessing to all. Even to animal, even to a bird he became a blessing. So I, in my doing, in my being with people, in my talking that I just want to be a blessing to others. That is a speciality of becoming a Franciscan (S13).

She further elaborated what she meant by being a blessing in terms of a focused contemplative presence.

> Sometime, materially I may not be able to fulfil their needs. But my presence, my, just my being with them, and my listening ear to them and I think that gives some sort of a comfort for them. … So, my presence and just being with them, it satisfies me that it is the same presence I am before the blessed sacrament, and listening to God, and then listening to my own brother and sister who is in need, but if God provides something in some other way that I will be able to provide materially, more than my material providence that they are just being with my own will, just the presence itself (S13).

A ministry of "presence" could easily be interpreted as passive, non-involved, but for Sister S13 it became "solidarity with my own brother and sister" and this solidarity she identified as the same as her relationship with the presence of Jesus in the Eucharistic sacrament. Her involvement with peacemaking she acknowledged as something small, but focused on *solidarity* with the people.

> Of course, Franciscan working for peace … I cannot say that we have done *big* thing. … We have contributed in our own little way. For example, when we work on our new convent in [place name omitted]. We want … become solidarity with our people. And also just to say that we are one with you (S13).

The sisters of her congregation tried to be active in volunteering particularly for missions among the poor.

> And also that when it comes certain missions, and we have volunteered—that we have opted for those missions. … we have not only [limited?] ourselves. … we also have a focus on being with the poor. That was our priority (S13).

During the time of active fighting their priorities were focused on the immediate needs.

> Affected people, war-affected people, we give our more concern. With [place names omitted] they … have to be paid lot of our attention and then some for the war victim families and war victim women and children. So, in that way we have even more priority them, at least there we find the difference in our work (S13).

F03 (quoted previously) commented on Francis and his persistent pleading with the pope to approve his way of life. Sister S13's understanding of relationship to church authority differed.

> And church matters, of course we have to go along with what the hierarchy and authority says. … Though we have so much of things to do but as Franciscans it's simple to see and we need to be here to say yes. You see that what is needed, what we have do that the—and also that I remember St Francis obeyed when he went to meet pope and just he bowed himself (S13).

Both the friar and sister quoted here have a high involvement in peacemaking, but in different ways. Both drew deeply on the Franciscan dimensions in their lives, but for the friar this took him actively into the midst of conflict as an intermediary, while for the sister her engagement was more that of contemplative presence with those in need, seeing them as Christ. The friar seemed abler to push boundaries, creating his own theological understanding of himself, while the sister perhaps went deeper within these boundaries.

These can be contrasted with the seven participants who were coded positive for the Franciscan experience dimension and *low* for knowledge of Franciscan sources. Of these, three had spoken of peacemaking, but for two of these it was in terms of possibility

or the example of *others*. However, one sister, S25, spoke of her experience in peacemaking among families.

> I like to be a peacemaker among themselves. Especially—when I meet the parents. Parents are always fight—most of them are very, because they don't have work, and they are not going for fishing and all. … So there I found that like Francis of Assisi I like to be with them and to make them peaceful situation like that (S25).

She described her method of family peacemaking as reminding parents of the seriousness of their marriage vows and asking them who will care for the children if the parents are fighting. Yet she also spoke of a listening healing ministry.

> By listening I like Jesus first listening to them and healing them. By listening I *heal* them [emphasis in original]. Oh, sometimes they cry and cry and cry, they tell about their family life and about their problems, and by that time I feel that I am something helping them like. … Listening is very important for me. It is very important. Very carefully I listen to them and even not not that I am not helping, but by listening, something I am helping that. Their worries and their thing is coming out. And they are, they feel that free in themselves (S25).

For her, Francis was "like my peacemaker. Always I used to depend on him…. Because his prayer is there. Wherever there be hatred you are [loved?] by them." However, she felt her faith in Francis was weak compared with others.

> Some are following the poverty life. Some are not. So I cannot say that I am living the poverty life and the simplicity. I cannot say that because I am not fully—dedicated myself. I won't say that I am dedicated myself (S25).

She did not speak of knowing any Franciscan sources beyond the Franciscan peace prayer, although in the past in her convent they had used a wider variety of Franciscan hymns and prayers. In terms of a Franciscan identity defined by strong living out of the Franciscan dimensions of faith, etc., this could be regarded as not as developed as the cases described above, although she was very active in peacemaking activities which she described in quite reflective theological terms.

Further contrasts could be made with those coded differently on the Franciscan dimensions; however, it became more difficult to draw conclusions since in many of these cases the code of a particular dimension was simply "unassigned" which represented silence rather than a particular value.

8. 4 Quantitative findings

8. 4. 1 Franciscan Peace Understanding and Values

The questionnaire included four questions (C16–C19 on the questionnaire; referred to here as FP1-FP4) designed to elicit the participants' opinions about Franciscan values or understandings relating to the balance between inner and outer peace, the relationship between prayer and active ministry, the purpose of a vowed life, and the nature of the initial movement founded by Francis. As reported in Chapter 5 the responses to these questions were not able to form a combined scale, but individually they help understand the experiences and perceptions of Franciscan life. They will not be analysed in detail here but some findings of particular interest will be noted.

8. 4. 2 FP1: Inner Peacefulness versus Working for External Peace

The question asked was "For Franciscans, peace is mainly about having an inner peacefulness, rather than working for peace in the world." The most frequent response was "Very accurate" (n = 58, 46%), and the next "Moderately inaccurate" (n = 23, 18%). This question was quite polarising with only 9% of responses taking the middle position of "neither inaccurate nor accurate." The result could suggest that there are two underlying orientations, one which saw inner peace and its cultivation as of primary importance, and the other which valued working for external peace.

8. 4. 3 FP2: Prayer Leading to Active Involvement in the World

This question, "For Franciscans, their prayer will usually lead them to an active involvement in the world around them," was aimed at testing whether Franciscans understood prayer as leading to active secular engagement or were more of a pietistic orientation. The answers for this were very strongly skewed to some recognition of the accuracy of the statement (n = 82, 65% responded "Very accurate," and n = 21, 17% "moderately accurate"). Some participants (n = 13, 10%) disagreed to some degree, but the distribution of responses did not seem bimodal as for the previous question. In other words, the responses were mostly indicating a preference for active secular engagement as the fruit of prayer.

8. 4. 4 FP3: Vows are Taken to Effect Detachment from World

The question here was, "Franciscans take vows so they can be detached from the world and devoted to God." This was a divisive question, as seen in the bimodal responses, similar to FP1. Most replied "Very accurate" (*n* = 58, 46%), and if the "Moderately accurate" responses are added then the total who agreed to some extent is *n*= 91, 72%. Only 7 participants neither agreed nor disagreed. On the other side there are those who replied "very inaccurate" (*n* = 15, 12%) and "moderately inaccurate" (*n* = 14, 11%). It is not possible to determine if this divided response represents an underlying division, or perhaps simply different interpretations of the question itself.

8. 4. 5 FP4: Francis as Founder of a Form of Socio-economic Life

Participants were asked if they agreed with the statement, "Francis of Assisi founded a new form of socio-economic life" as a measure of their agreement with one of the major areas of recent Franciscan scholarship. This work[143] interprets Francis as the founder of a new way of living, determined not by possession or status, but by horizontal familial relationship with the marginalised, such as lepers. Most participants agreed to some extent with this statement ("Very accurate" *n* = 63, 50%) or "Moderately accurate," *n* = 26, 21%), while the remaining responses were spread equally across the possible range between "Strongly disagree" to "Neither agree nor disagree."

8. 4. 6 The Franciscan Questions in Combination

The responses to both FP1 and FP3 were bimodal—suggesting the possibility of two differing orientations to the matters raised by each of the questions. A cross tabulation of responses to these questions in Table 8-5 (p. 265) indicates the pattern when FP1 and FP3 were looked at in combination.

143. Flood (1989) is an example of this stream of Franciscan scholarship.

Table 8-5: Cross Tabulation of FP1 (Inner/Outer Peace) and FP3 (Purpose of Religious Vows)

		FP3 (Vows effect detachment from world)				
		Very inaccurate	*Mod. inaccurate*	*Neither inaccurate nor accurate*	*Mod. accurate*	*Very accurate*
FP1 (Inner peacefulness valued more than working for external peace)	*Very inaccurate*	4	5	0	2	5
	Mod. inaccurate	6	5	2	6	4
	Neither inaccurate nor accurate	0	0	2	5	4
	Mod. accurate	1	2	2	8	6
	Very accurate	4	2	1	12	39

If there was a pattern of distinct responses, it could be seen in the total of 65 who agreed to some extent (moderately accurate or very accurate) with both statements. These are people who placed a high value on inner peace (as opposed to working for peace in the world) and who also saw the purpose of religious vows as being detachment from the world and devotion to God. This could be characterised as a strongly interior interpretation of Franciscan life. The other corners of the grid represent the other combinations of disagreement with at least one of the statements, but there was no particular pattern here.

Were particular gender, ethnic, geographic or other factors related to these? An initial examination showed some particular patterns. Of the 39 participants of high agreement for each of FP1 and FP3 in Table 8-5, 24 were Secular Franciscans, and 12 were sisters. These were the largest numbers in each of these groups. On the other hand, the friars were fairly equally distributed across all combinations of responses. In other words, the Secular Franciscans who participated could be characterised as almost entirely of a strong inward devotional, pietistic understanding of their Franciscan vocation, the sisters could be interpreted as less strongly of that orientation, and the friars not particularly so at all.

The Secular Franciscans were all Tamil (an effect of the geographic location of their group), but the sisters were a mixture of ethnicities. A breakdown of sisters' responses showed that the 12 who answered "strongly agree" to both questions were mostly Tamil (n = 8). This was not necessarily an *ethnic* factor as such since each congregation had its own particular ethnic mix. Unfortunately, the available data did not permit sufficiently accurate breakdown by congregation.

A cross tabulation in Table 8-6 below of the other two questions, FP2 and FP4 also showed some interesting patterns.

Table 8-6: Cross Tabulation of FP2 (Prayer and Active Involvement in World) and FP4 (Francis as Founder of a Form of Socio-economic Life)

		FP4 (Francis founded a new form of socio-economic life)				
		Very inaccurate	*Mod. inaccurate*	*Neither inaccurate nor accurate*	*Mod. accurate*	*Very accurate*
FP2 (Prayer leading to active involvement in world)	*Very inaccurate*	1	4	0	0	1
	Mod. inaccurate	0	3	1	1	2
	Neither inaccurate nor accurate	2	1	5	3	0
	Mod. accurate	1	1	3	11	5
	Very accurate	9	1	6	11	55

Again there was a large group of those who strongly agreed with both statements, and if the "moderately accurate" responses are included we have approximately 65% of respondents holding a view of Franciscanism as rather more engaged and less pietistic than the previous comparison of questions might have suggested.

A breakdown by religious state showed that the 55 of high agreement with both statements were almost entirely Secular Franciscans (n = 23) and sisters (n = 24). Once

again the friars were spread more evenly round the possible responses, although in this case the majority of them (n = 8) were also of high agreement with both statements.

It is probably unwise to try further analysis of these groups and subgroups. The pairings selected here (FP1 with FP3; FP2 with FP4) were done so because the variables in one pair were bi-modal, and in the other pair mono-modal. However, FP1 and FP3 were also originally intended to be reverse scored and added to FP2 and FP4 to derive a "Franciscan Peace" score. After the reverse scoring, a negative Cronbach's alpha suggested that these variables were not coherently measuring the same thing.

8. 4. 7 Logistic Regression Analysis of the Relationship between Peacemaking and Franciscan Understanding

Notwithstanding the caution in the previous paragraph about reliability of the answers for the questions on Franciscan understanding (FP1–FP4) a binary logistic regression analysis was carried out to test if there were any significant relationships between participation in peacemaking and the four questions on Franciscan understanding. Many of those who had selected "Very Accurate" for each of the four statements were the Secular Franciscans. There may have been different cultural or linguistic understandings of the questions or a bias introduced into the administration of the questionnaires by the improvised Tamil interpretation of the English text.[144] Because these Secular Franciscan responses seemed, as a group, to be somewhat distinct, they were excluded from this analysis in order to focus on friars and sisters.

Rather than test a multiplicity of models it was decided initially to use Model 1 of Chapter 6 with the addition of the four Franciscan questions (i.e. RSS, CommHealth, RelStateReduced, Education, FP1-FP4) to see if these Franciscan variables were significant in any of the regressions, as tabulated in Table 8-7 (p. 268). Similar tests in Chapter 6 had also been run on the same data set, thus offering a point of comparison.

144. A Tamil translation of the questionnaire had been prepared but was not properly validated for use in the field after it was established that the sisters and friars would all be able to use the original English questionnaire. The participation of Tamil-speaking Secular Franciscans was improvised on the sudden opportunity to meet a group. A Tamil Catholic priest provided a verbal spontaneous translation of each question in the questionnaire, allowing time for the Tamil Secular Franciscan participants to answer question by question.

Table 8-7: Self-reported Participation in Peacemaking Activities Regressed on Franciscan Understanding (for Friars and Sisters)

		*Model Fit**			*FP Factors with sig. relationships*
		OS	***R^2***	***HL***	
Advocacy	Pre**	.04	.30	.28	
	Post	<.01	.46	.06	
	Curr	.44	.16	.58	
Intermediary	Pre	.15	.28	.48	
	Post	.62	.13	.23	
	Curr	.11	.25	.43	
Observer	Pre	<.01	.42	.26	FP1 .47 (.05); FP2 4.7 (.02)
	Post	.46	.16	.41	
	Curr	.23	.20	.04	
Education	Pre	.15	.27	.83	
	Post	.39	.17	.47	
	Curr	<.01	.39	.50	FP1 1.63 (.04); FP2 .22 (<.01)
Facilitating Understanding	Pre	.11	.31	.93	
	Post	.04	.30	.59	FP4 1.76 (.04)
	Curr	.01	.35	.41	
Nonviolent Action	Pre	.10	.30	.09	FP1 .53 (.03); FP3 2.39 (.02)
	Post	.01	.45	.40	
	Curr	.63	.13	.78	
Dialogue other relig	Pre	<.01	.48	.65	
	Post	.41	.18	.71	
	Curr	.31	.18	.98	
Dialogue other Christians	Pre	<.01	.40	.25	
	Post	.35	.21	.27	
	Curr	.07	.26	.26	FP3 2.01 (.01)
Liturgical activities	Pre	.19	.22	.11	
	Post	.15	.23	.42	
	Curr	.11	.24	.38	
Spiritual activities	Pre	.03	.30	.90	FP1 .62 (.03); FP4 1.66 (.04)
	Post	.04	.29	.11	FP1 .60 (.03)
	Curr	<.01	.37	.08	

FP = Franciscan Peace questions,
* Model fit values are OS = significance for omnibus test of model coefficients, R^2 = Nagelkerke R^2, HL = significance for Hosmer and Lemeshow test. Beta value is Exp(B), *p* is two-tailed.
** 'Pre' indicates pre May 2009; 'Post' indicates May 2009-May 2013; 'Curr' indicates May 2013.
n = 79 (92 cases for sisters and friars after excluding Secular Franciscans, 13 cases with missing data for Community Health or Franciscan Peace).

Those peacemaking forms for which at least one FP factor was possibly significant were investigated further using a range of models. The results of these are tabulated in Appendix 9 (p. 371) and significant findings summarised in Table 8-8 below.

Table 8-8: Significant Relationships between Franciscan Peace Variables and Peacemaking Activities

	FP1	***FP2***	***FP3***	***FP4***
Observer (Pre May 2009)	Neg (p = .02)	Pos (p = .01)		
Education (Current)	Pos (p = .04)	Neg (p < .01		
Facilitating Understanding (May 2009–May 2013)		Neg (p = .02)		Pos (p = .02)
Nonviolent Action (Pre May 2009)	Neg (p = .03)		Pos (p = .02)	
Dialogue Other Christians (Current)			Pos (p = .01)	
Spiritual Activities (Pre May 2009)	Neg (p = .03)			Pos (p = .04)
Spiritual Activities (May 2009–May 2013)	Neg (p = .03)			

There was no clear pattern about which forms of peacemaking were related to the Franciscan variables but possibly some interesting indications of what could be significant relationships.

FP1, "For Franciscans, peace is mainly about having an inner peacefulness, rather than working for peace in the world" was positively related to peacemaking by education during the immediate post-conflict period; but negatively related to some of the activities during the conflict. The effect could be slight but could be interpreted that the valuing of inner peacefulness over action was relevant in educating peacefulness in the

post-conflict period, whereas most of the other activities required some sort of action during the period of conflict or in the immediate post-conflict period.

The view expressed in FP2, "For Franciscans, their prayer will usually lead them to an active involvement in the world around them," could possibly be partly a motivation for active involvement as Observers during the conflict, while the negative relationship to Education could be similar to the positive relationship between FP1 and Education (both represent a more inner, less activist orientation). However, the negative relationship with Facilitating Understanding is hard to explain.

The positive relationship between FP3, "Franciscans take vows so they can be detached from the world and devoted to God" is hard to explain in relation to Nonviolent Action or Dialogue with Other Christians. On the other hand, the positive relationship between FP4, "Francis of Assisi founded a new form of socio-economic life" could be seen in the positive relationship between Facilitating Understanding and Spiritual Activities.

However, these effects are slight and the numbers reporting each form of activity small, so it is not possible to read much into this analysis.

In summary, with some cases the models attempted failed to yield stable solutions. (This can be a consequence of adding extra factors, especially with a decreased dataset after excluding Secular Franciscans.) Perhaps it is more the case that the Franciscan Peace questions were not the most significantly related factors to peacemaking activities in these particular cases. Chapter 6 showed that the Religious Schema subscales were more significant factors, and some of these subscales remain significant when the FP variables are introduced. What this generally suggests is that of those studied here, their participation in peacemaking activities as answered in the questionnaire was more or less irrespective of their Franciscan understanding. The analysis of the interviews and discussions suggested a more nuanced response however in which factors such as the ways in which a range of Franciscan texts were known and used as resources seemed related to active peacemaking.

8. 5 Discussion

The two research propositions addressed in this chapter relate to (a) Franciscan identity and frame alignment, and (b) Franciscan identity and resource mobilisation as

each relates to active peacemaking. Here we will discuss the specifically Franciscan element of the participants' knowledge of Francis and his life of relationship to others and creation, their own relationship to Francis, and the relationships made between Franciscans and those among whom they live or minister.

8. 5. 1 Research Proposition 5: Franciscan Identity and Frame Alignment

This research proposition, derived in Chapter 4 above, states that Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking will critique their engagement in ministry, their self-understanding, and will be able to reframe this engagement to meet new goals. They will see peacemaking with others as an expansion of what they first experience among themselves. Peacemaking will be seen in a broader context of working for right relationships with all humanity, and indeed all creation.

A view of the ideal values (not necessarily those seen in reality) related to frame alignment can be derived from the mission statements analysed in Section 8.2 (p. 242). These values include a theological orientation based on a radical following of the gospel life, a style of community life which values relationships within community, inspiration by Francis to act in radical revolutionary ways, and a developed spiritual life. The external forms of service derived from these values include active works in the world, serving not only the Church, but also serving all people and all creation without distinction, and carrying peace and love. Thus, Franciscans who have aligned their mission in response to the needs of those around them will know of Francis as a person for whom living in relationship was central. They will feel inspired by him and engage in activities which recognise and affirm the value of horizontal relationships of fraternity/sorority, seeking to be brothers and sisters to all.

The research proposition speaks specifically of experience of Francis and Franciscan values, of Franciscan community life as a place of peacemaking, of critical reflection on external ministry, and of engagement in forms of active peacemaking in response to these.

Participants spoke of experiencing Francis in *affective* ways (e.g. "he attracted me," "it touched me") and also *effective* ways (e.g. inspiration leading "to follow," or to "my service for all"). For some, he was healer, and for many he was an object of devotion and a powerful saint to invoke. A few of the friars and sisters who had completed higher

levels of formal education felt that they had moved from such "beginners" practices and gone deeper. These also were people with a deeper analysis of social needs who had developed more extensive peacemaking activities. They knew Franciscan material not only as resource, but reflected on it in ways which penetrated its deeper values, such as nonviolence, which they then tried to express in the world around them. The sister (S03) who found inspiration in the particularity of Francis' vocation was looking not to copy him, but for *his* listening to God to be permission for *her* own listening in discerning how to live as a contemporary Franciscan.

The analysis of the data suggested the existence of some fairly distinct groups, each with their own way of being Franciscan. Some of these were the group of Secular Franciscans who, although with little knowledge of the facts about Francis, approached him in a predominantly devotional style. They practised mainly pastoral ministries such as prayer with the sick, and valued inner peace over working for peace in the world. For them, their ministry was framed by their experience of Francis as healer. They responded by offering prayer for personal healing, as Secular Franciscans in secular settings, in response to the deep need for healing they saw in others.

A distinct group of sisters and friars spoke of having been inspired or helped by Francis and also had a greater knowledge of his life and the Franciscan sources. Their responses to the needs of those around them were shaped by an imagination which enabled them to overcome difficulties (for example by recognising that when accused of taking sides they were not seeing ethnicities or religions but rather human need and suffering). Some also wanted a greater radical political involvement in campaigning for peace. Their perception of the needs of the world included a dimension of social justice, and their forms of ministry took them into greater engagement with the socio-political sphere, although they also felt frustrated that they could not do more.

Another group also knew Franciscan inspiration or help but had less knowledge of the sources. Their responses seemed more passive, such as listening to the pain of others to help them find healing. Although their responses could be interpreted as less engaged, or perhaps less creative, the value of "simply listening" to the wounded cannot be underestimated. Many participants were themselves wounded by significant losses in their own families. However, without the reserves or resilience to sustain such ministry (and as the previous chapter shows, many were in communities where they felt significant

difficulties in internal relationships), such "peacemaking through helping others find healing" may not be sustainable in the long-term.

8. 5. 2 Research Proposition 6: Franciscan Identity and Resource Mobilisation

This research proposition, derived above in Chapter 4, stated that Franciscans actively engaged in peacemaking will be able to draw on a range of Franciscan resources including knowledge of the life of Francis and of related texts, Franciscan history, current JPIC literature, and self-reflection.

The mission statements analysed in Section 8.2 (p. 242) gave an indication of the *ideal* potential resources, including the gospel (good news of Jesus Christ), intra-community relationships, knowledge of the life and teachings of Francis and regarding him as a source of inspiration, the experience of a life devoted to prayer, availability to serve in a variety of ways.

The specifically Franciscan resource of Franciscan identity could be seen at the intersection of various aspects. One was that of inspiration from the historic Francis of Assisi, formed by knowledge of his life, texts by and about him, and his values such as discipleship of Christ, poverty, simplicity, peacemaking, humility, being "minor" or "lesser," or *fraternitas/sororitas*.[145] Another aspect was that of the theological understandings derived from this Franciscan inspiration. These could be expressed in terms such as belief in a God of supreme goodness, the footprints of whose presence were seen in the created order. Yet another aspect was that of community living which saw living or working together as witness to others of peacefulness. These together formed a resource able to be used for peacemaking.

Many of the participants who experienced Francis in a direct or personal way spoke of how that experience, as resource, inspired them in their lives as Franciscans. Such an experience, or the recalling of it, gave them vision, or strength, or courage to respond in a particular way.

Franciscan knowledge, the intellectual dimension, was the easiest to observe as resource since it was expressed in a range of ways by participants. One focus was

145. This technical term refers to the Franciscan understanding that all created things (not just humanity) are creatures of God their creator, and hence bound together in horizontal relationship.

knowledge of Franciscan values such as joy, peace, simplicity or poverty, but these values were spoken of so frequently that there was no clear pattern to interpret them as resource brought to active peacemaking.

However, a more useful focus in the analysis was knowledge of the *sayings* of Francis or *stories* about him. Some sources were frequently referred to by many of the participants such as Francis taming the Wolf of Gubbio[146] or visiting the Sultan.[147] These are sources which touched on Francis in relationship to the "enemy", and his fearlessness in going to the enemy, unarmed, seeking some peaceful solution. Some other sources (such as the story of Perfect Joy or the Peace Prayer[148]) were used as resources to sustain equanimity in the face of external opposition. A much smaller number of participants, who were also active peacemakers, used some lesser known texts about Francis as their main inspirational source. These texts also touched on relationship, perhaps at a deeper level. Rather than simply regarding others as brother or sister, their understanding of relationship saw in these texts an inspiration in overcoming exclusion, or a teaching of the values, such as humility, called for by a deepened appreciation of relationship.

The variation in level of knowledge and interpretation of these Franciscan texts has already been noted in Section 8.3.2.4 (p. 249). It seemed that the less-known texts used by a smaller, more-educated elite were able to give them a greater depth of inspiration and interpretative understanding of Franciscan peacemaking. This variation in knowledge of Franciscan texts is referred to in the previous section on frame alignment. Likewise, the same pattern seems present when considering knowledge of texts as *resource*. Those familiar with a wider range of texts, including some lesser known ones, found these texts to be a resource for self-understanding and a tool for critical engagement. Such participants were more likely to report being active in forms of peacemaking involving more direct contact between parties in conflict. On the other hand, those who spoke of a smaller range of texts, who had perhaps fewer resources to inspire them or aid their self-reflection, were more likely to report involvement in *pastoral* activities such as listening or counselling. Such pastoral activities, especially when many were traumatised

146. See Appendix 2.4 (p. 322).
147. See Appendix 2.5 (p. 324).
148. See Appendix 2.6 (p. 328).

by civil war, may be an important part of healing, but their narrower knowledge of Franciscan texts may reduce their ability to respond to such pastoral needs.

8. 6 Conclusion

This chapter has brought together both qualitative and quantitative data on Franciscan identity. Some data are fragmentary, and although where present it has been possible to suggest possible conclusions, no conclusions can be drawn from the absence of data.

The congregational websites indicated that peacemaking, although rooted in basic Franciscan values, was only one of various activities undertaken by Franciscans. For some participants, their relationship with Francis was particularly devotional, and some experienced him as a personal helper or healer. There was a wide range of knowledge of Franciscan sources. Some had undertaken further Franciscan study, but most had not advanced beyond a basic level. Those with a higher knowledge of Franciscan sources, and who also experienced Francis in some relational way, were among the most active peacemakers in a variety of ways. Those who knew a wider range of texts seemed also to have greater ability to function as peacemakers over a longer term, or in more challenging situations, and to be able to use their Franciscan identity in framing their ministry and also as resource for ministry. For others, the smaller range of texts they knew shaped a different sort of Franciscan identity which perhaps helped them in their pastoral ministries and to endure personal difficulties, but was not associated with the wider range of more radical responses made by the others. The Secular Franciscan group had their particular identity which drew on their experience of Francis as healer and object of devotion, and from which they constructed their identity as Franciscan healers.

The questionnaire data for this chapter was less salient. It revealed some interesting groups, such as those who placed a high value on inner peace (as opposed to working for peace in the world) and who also saw the purpose of religious vows as being detachment from the world and devotion to God. This could be characterised as a strongly interior interpretation of Franciscan life. This group consisted of a majority of Secular Franciscans and sisters. There were some slight effects relating likelihood of peacemaking to the Franciscan identity variables, but these were fairly fragmentary and hard to interpret.

The two research propositions considered in this chapter looked at the involvement of Franciscans as peacemakers through the two theoretical perspectives of frame alignment and resource mobilisation. There was no attempt to establish a causal relationship between Franciscan identity and actively engaged peacemaking, but it was possible to observe that those Franciscans who had the opportunity for further education and deeper encounter with Franciscan texts had a resource they were able to use to give them wider perspectives and personal resilience as they performed a wide range of peacemaking ministries in some challenging situations. The group with a narrower range of Franciscan knowledge used what they knew to resource and frame their ministries of listening. Likewise, the Secular Franciscan group drew on their particular background in framing their ministries, drawing on the resource of themselves as people "healed through the intercession of Francis."

The research propositions were largely confirmed, but in different ways for different "types" of Franciscans, since each "type" seems to have responded in its own way, using its own experience and knowledge in constructing an identity as "peacemaker."

Perhaps what may help Franciscans as peacemakers are the skills and knowledge which can generate resilience and imagination. These can be fostered through opportunities to learn more about Francis and his teachings and writings, as well as the opportunity to reflect critically on ministry and presence among others in the light of this.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

9. 1 Overview of Principal Findings

9. 1. 1 Problematisation of Franciscans as Peacemakers

The literature shows the growing scholarly attention to the role (potential and actual) of religious actors as peacemakers, as well as increasing recognition of the value of religion itself as a resource for peacemaking. Within Christianity the historic peace churches have their distinctive and enlarged role as peacemakers, and other churches, including the Catholic Church, have also been peacemakers in other ways of engagement with the world.[149] However, Franciscans, most of whom belong to one of the Franciscan congregations in the Catholic Church, have been less studied. They have an historic peace tradition, which was attenuated as they were co-opted by ecclesial power or policy. They have tried to revive a culture of peacefulness, inspired by St. Francis, and as part of the process of renewal begun at the Second Vatican Council. This has happened under the overall banner of "Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation", but it seems not to have generated the major re-orientation to those values which perhaps was hoped for, at least by the more progressive.[150]

Additionally, Franciscan sisters and friars, as well as being influenced by their inherited Franciscan values, are shaped in their responses by being people of a particular faith who live in community with others. Studies of Catholic religious communities found that these dimensions of faith and community life were relevant as communities implemented the process of renewal begun at the Second Vatican Council and paid attention to the "signs of the times" in discerning how to respond to the needs of the world around them.[151]

Two theoretical lenses which can help understand how movements become radicalised in new directions or revive their mission in new ways were used to explore further this problematised Franciscan peacemaking. These two lenses, frame alignment theory

149. See section 2.2 (p. 13).
150. See section 4.2 (p. 65).
151. See section 2.3 (p. 20).

and resource mobilisation theory, were then used to construct six research propositions to explore how religious faith, community life and Franciscan identity could be related to active engaged Franciscan peacemaking.[152]

9. 1. 2 Overall Characteristics of the Data

Sri Lanka was chosen as the site for a single-country in-depth study of Franciscan peacemaking. Franciscans are widespread in Sri Lanka and they include both Tamil and Sinhalese sisters and friars involved in a range of local ministries. Sri Lanka's prolonged civil war (1983-2009) intensified the ethnic division, polarising identity and narrowing the space of civil society.[153]

The initial intention was to conduct fieldwork throughout the full range of regions in which Franciscan sisters and friars were living. This became impracticable because of difficulties of travel and time, and so the decision was made to focus the fieldwork in the regions most directly affected by the conflict, as well as some other areas where there was ready access to a number of Franciscans, particularly those in leadership positions. Although the interview and questionnaire data were not from a representative sample of overall Franciscans in Sri Lanka, they covered more than half of the Franciscans in those war-affected regions and of their overall leadership. Thus, there was a preponderance of Tamils in the responses, since the Tamil-only Franciscan congregations were the ones predominantly in the war-affected areas. The geographic focus was not necessarily as limiting as might seem since one of the characteristics observed of Franciscan sisters and friars was that they were highly mobile, and very few stayed in one convent or friary for more than five years or so.

Another characteristic of the data was that participants were living mostly in small communities rather than larger friaries or convents and that these smaller communities were mostly situated in villages or smaller neighbourhoods. Thus they were living in places with at least the potential of being close to the people around them, knowing them, and known by them.

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152. See sections 3.3 (p. 47) and 4.2.6 (p. 77).
153. See section 4.3 (p. 79).

Another general finding from the questionnaire was that many reported taking part in a range of different forms of peacemaking such as being intermediaries or observers, etc. Although these roles could be performed at a higher level, such as top or middle-range leadership as part of a structured Track-2 peacemaking process between belligerents (Lederach 1977, 39), the interview data suggested that these roles were mostly at a grassroots level, and perhaps mostly below that of the "grassroots leadership" of Lederach, and more at a very local level such as within the Franciscan communities, or among the children in the schools where sisters and friars were teaching, or with the parents of these children. This is not that unusual given that many of the religious communities were small in size and living in villages or small neighbourhoods.

9. 1. 3 Faith and Peacemaking

Analysis of the quantitative data showed a relationship (not necessarily causal) between styles of faith and reported participation in a range of peacemaking activities. In particular, the finding was that the score indicating a more fundamentalist style (*truth of texts and teachings*) was negatively correlated with five of the peacemaking activities during the time of active conflict, and with four activities in the years immediately after the end of hostility. In other words, those who scored *higher* on this subscale were *less* likely to report taking part in these peacemaking activities. On the other hand, the score indicating a style of faith open to others and appreciative of the wisdom in other faiths (*xenosophia*), was positively related to two of the immediately post-war peacemaking activities and nine types of activities being carried out at the time of the research. Those with a more open style of faith were more likely to be currently carrying out peacemaking activities.[154]

For example, those of a more fundamentalist style of faith were less likely to report being intermediaries (during the war, in the years following it, and currently) and those of a more open style of faith were more likely to report working currently as intermediaries. This was illustrated in the qualitative data by several participants who had been intermediaries speaking of their openness to others, as well as their efforts to position their work, although a reflection of Christian love, as grounded in universal human values,

154. Details are in Table 6-7 (p. 173).

rather than ethno-religious division. Another example is in inter-religious dialogue which was negatively related to the fundamentalist *ttt* subscale during the conflict but positively related to the open attitude *xenos* subscale for current dialogue. Participants spoke in a range of ways about other religions. Some of those most engaged with them lived or worked with people of other faiths or had such past positive experience. However, some others had hostile relations, feeling that their Catholic identity was under threat. Perhaps for many their attitude was friendly but limited to "learning about" rather than "experiencing."

Unexpectedly, the *fairness, tolerance and rational choice* subscale was not significantly related to any of the peacemaking activity responses. This may have been because for many war-affected participants the values of that scale were not salient or that this scale did not tap relevant differences for a group of "religious professionals."

In this section the qualitative data supported the quantitative data, giving voice to the patterns suggested by it. An unexpected finding, although from fragmentary data, was that some who struggled with their faith were able to exercise forms of peacemaking which drew on those struggles and offered presence with others in their needs.

9. 1. 4 Community Life and Peacemaking

The perspective of community life and peacemaking was addressed by an overview of the positive and negative aspects of community life from the interview data, followed by an analysis of the quantitative data on community health and community versus individual values from the questionnaire. The views on community health in the qualitative data were then quantified and compared with the quantitative data. These were found to be approximately congruent. Finally, both sets of data were analysed, congregation by congregation, for perspectives on peacemaking.

Participants experienced community life in a range of ways. Some were positively appreciative of what they experienced in living with those of different character, ethnicity or language. They spoke of how they resolved conflict within their communities through a strong commitment to communication and regular meetings. Other participants were less happy with their community life and seemed personally unhappy and distrustful of others in their community. This suggested internal conflict within that community.

There were many participants from whom there was a less clear perspective, perhaps somewhere in the middle.

It had been expected that active peacemaking would be related to community functioning, with those in more functional communities more engaged in external peacemaking. The results were somewhat more nuanced however. Members of less-functional communities were also engaged in external peacemaking. The differences were in the style of these external ministries. Those with healthy community life were able to engage, as *communities*, with those around them, using their community life to create radical new forms of presence with others. These communities seemed also to have the resilience to respond to external pressure, such as ethnic tension or the fear of government control. On the other hand, those in less-functional communities were more likely to be engaged in individual ministries and lack this resilience.

9. 1. 5 Franciscan Identity and Peacemaking

The third perspective, that of Franciscan identity, was approached through both quantitative and qualitative data, and analysed mainly by using the qualitative data to identify several different types of Franciscan identity and how they related to active peacemaking. Franciscan identity was formed along several dimensions (belief, practice, experience, knowledge and effects), but of these it was found that experience and knowledge formed the most useful analytic tool for looking for distinctive types of Franciscan identity. The "experience" of Francis was expressed in such terms as inspiration to a life of service, or attributing healing to his intercession. The Franciscan "knowledge" dimension was observed in how the participants spoke of values on which Franciscans place emphasis (e.g. poverty, humility), but most especially in what they knew of the writings by Francis and stories about him. In this dimension there was a clear distinction between "low" and "high" levels of this knowledge, with the lower level being that of a basic repertoire of stories which almost all knew, and with the higher level being a much wider range of texts used in more imaginative ways.

The knowledge dimension in particular generated several distinct types.[155] There was a small elite with a high knowledge of Franciscan sources whose peacemaking was predominantly in higher profile roles, or roles in which they exercised leadership. A larger set knew less of the sources and were involved in peacemaking perhaps as part of a community ministry, or as individuals. There was a distinct group of Secular Franciscans with very little knowledge of Francis but a strongly devotional, pietistic approach, whose ministry as peacemakers focused on prayer and pastoral visits.

The quantitative data on its own did not have as much interpretive power beyond suggesting that there was no clear pattern relating the Franciscan peace perspectives questions used in the questionnaire with Franciscan peacemaking. It was the qualitative data which largely shaped the finding that Franciscan knowledge seemed to be the most salient factor related to active peacemaking.

9. 1. 6 Frame Alignment and Peacemaking

Frame alignment was one of the theories used to study how Franciscan religious communities can discern and practise ministries which help address the "sharpest anguish" of the world today. In Sri Lanka it is not hard to see the signs of that sharpest anguish in the continuing pains of a "post-war but not-yet peace."

Some Franciscans were able to negotiate new ways of relating in changed situations, aligning the frame of their life and ministry to the needs around them, in effect creating "new ways" of being Franciscan. Their own faith gave them ways of being present to other faiths, seeking dialogue rather than conversion. Likewise, they were able to respond flexibly across the boundaries of ethnic division. Some found ways of responding as communities to these needs, so that their community presence was an integral part of their witness, rather than the community just being a collective. These included those friars and sisters who found deeper ways of interpreting Franciscan material so that the medieval social, economic and gospel vision of Francis was able to be reinterpreted for the needs of the current world.

155. There are some points of overlap with the roles of Franciscan peacemaking observed in Section 5.3.3 (p. 125) but they are not identical.

On the other hand, were those who seemed unable to align their presence with the needs of the world around them. They felt under attack. Their established ministries and styles of living were threatened but they found it hard to reframe their mission in response to these changed circumstances. Some of these developed individual ministries, but it seemed that rather than this being an expression of their community life, it was more of an escape from community. The potential weakness of such a response is that rather than being primarily driven by the sharpest anguish of the world, it is driven rather by the needs of the sister or friar. These tended to know less about Franciscan material, and were perhaps more passive in their responses (although this can also be interpreted simply as a survival mechanism for coping with the prolonged trauma of Sri Lanka's civil war).

9. 1. 7 Resource Mobilisation and Peacemaking

Resource mobilisation was the other theory used to study how Franciscans can achieve the potential of engagement in active peacemaking. To make changes in ministries or traditional patterns of presence requires more than just the motivation and vision expressed by frame alignment. It also needs resources. The focus here is not on the material things (although these are important) but on the spiritual, communal and Franciscan dispositions which are able to support and sustain the changes necessary for engaged peacemaking.

Faith of an open style, able to appreciate the wisdom of the other, was a positive resource for a range of forms of peacemaking by Franciscans. They drew on this faith, sharing it with others, and it provided them with the resilience to cope with challenges. Community life was also a potential resource since it provided members with the experience of peacemaking "at home." Through learning to live with each other they not only learned practical skills in conflict resolution, but the mere existence of a healthy community of mixed ethnicity was, in itself, a resource and witness to their neighbours of the possibility of ethnic harmony. Franciscan knowledge and the ability to use Franciscan sources was also a significant resource in itself. This knowledge helped people deepen their engagement with others, since it linked them back to the understanding of Francis as a person who was himself deeply engaged with others. For others, their Franciscan resource was less, but perhaps sufficient for their current needs. A few prayers and stories

gave them an interpretive framework and resource able to strengthen them in forbearance or nonviolence.

The more fundamentalist style of faith was associated with less engagement in peacemaking. Faith which was more inward looking and black and white seemed not to be a resource which energised outward engagement with others, especially those of other faiths. A number of Franciscans seemed unhappy in their community life and so for them their community life (at least as lived out with a particular set of other friars or sisters) was not a resource they could bring to peacemaking.

9. 2 The Wider Field of Religious Peacemakers

The wider aspects of religious peacemaking such as how, when and why religious peacemakers intervene between conflicting parties, or what such peacemaking looks like, is a growing field of scholarly research. However, there is little research into how particular groups for whom peacemaking is only one task among many have been able to draw on their deeply held religious values and experiences in responding as peacemakers to the violence around them.

Franciscans are little mentioned in the literature on religious peacemakers, with the exception of a few case studies such as their role in the Balkans. Franciscan peacemaking in Sri Lanka was very much at a grassroots level and little noticed, even though participants reported a wide range of different peacemaking activities. Generally, religious communities (of the broadly defined monastic variety) are hardly mentioned as peacemakers. Also, there has been comparatively little study of the *motives* of religious peacemakers, especially of how Christian peacemakers might draw on specifically religious aspects of their faith as inspiration for peacemaking, and most faith scales used in relation to engagement in socio-political matters have only measured adherence to particular doctrines or rely on a liberal/conservative dichotomy, unlike the Religious Schema Scale used here.

The research into members of religious communities engaging in action such as peacemaking has mostly been carried out in the US, and tended to focus on their attitudes to such action. A point of difference with this study is that it has attempted to explore the actual experience of members of particular religious communities in a country which experienced prolonged civil war. Hertog (2010), also in a study of religious peacemaking,

researched the role of the Russian Orthodox Church as either resource or obstacle for peacebuilding in Chechnya (e.g. through humanitarian relief or through chaplaincy to Russian troops), but this study has focused at a more grassroots level on how Franciscans have drawn on various aspects of their life and identity in responding to the needs around them.

The key findings of this study of a specific group of religious peacemakers were that faith and belief are critical determinants of engagement in peacemaking activities, that positive community life tended to predispose some to engagement in peacemaking (and counter-intuitively that dysfunctional community life could predispose a different form of engagement in peacemaking), and that Franciscan identity factors played a role in establishing an overall framework for these issues. This is consistent with other studies done of attitudes, behaviour and engagement of religious actors in peacebuilding roles such as by Appleby (2004, 2008a, 2008b), Gopin (2002, 2005), Lederach (2005), and Sampson (2007) who have established that religious actors, when motivated by the open, dialogic elements of their religion, can, as peacemakers, draw on these elements to promote peace and reconciliation.

9. 3 Review of Theoretical Approach

The two theories drawn from Social Movement Theory (Frame Alignment and Resource Mobilisation) provided a useful analytic tool for helping frame the research propositions. Although these theories have been little used in the study of religious communities, they added useful insights here and thus seem a good fit to exploring how such communities can respond to the needs of the world around them. In the analysis it was at times hard to distinguish between frame alignment and resource mobilisation, and it seemed that there was a circular movement between them. This was seen, for example, in a resource such as the experience of forgiveness in community life leading to a sharing of that forgiveness with others outside the community, leading in turn to a new frame of engagement with others in their particular needs, and thus back to the community life.

These theories could be used more generally for study of religious peacemaking, since two aspects of religion are that (a) it can shape the way people look at the world around them, i.e. their frame, and (b) its teachings, texts and stories and the experiences of believers can be a source of inspiration, i.e. a resource.

The aim of this study was not to verify these theories, but rather to use them in a practical way by generating useful insights able to help the Franciscans in Sri Lanka and elsewhere become more engaged as peacemakers. These two theoretical approaches have already been useful for a follow-up Franciscan peacemaking workshop in Sri Lanka since they are theories which seem to relate easily to people's daily experience and give them an analytic tool they themselves can use.

9. 4 Review of the Methodology

The mixed methods approach adopted for this study generally achieved the aims planned for in that the quantitative data were able to represent a breadth of the population while the qualitative data were able to provide depth. Weaknesses in one aspect of the data were able to be compensated by the other (for example, although the questions of the Community Life Scale did not yield a useable scale, and were individually of only limited use, the qualitative data on community life was extremely useful).

The group discussions were probably less useful than hoped for and could have been better planned and executed, perhaps with some written questions for initial reflection, or breaking for brief moments of unrecorded sharing in twos or threes before returning to the full discussion. The group sizes varied greatly. Some were too large, but this was because many wanted to take part, feeling that their participation would bring some overall benefit. The individual interviews provided the major source of useable qualitative data. A drawback of the fieldwork schedule was that there was insufficient time for listening and reflection on each interview while in the field. The distribution and collection of the questionnaires was particularly successful with a 78% return rate. A learning point here would be that further field testing of the questionnaire could have refined its design.

Mixed methods has a number of drawbacks, such as increased load of work during limited time in the field, or extra burden on participants, but these did not prove to be insurmountable. During the analysis phase the ability to move backwards and forwards between qualitative and quantitative data was an unexpected source of freshness. The bringing together of quantitative and qualitative data in each of the three substantive chapters (faith, community life, Franciscan identity) presented particular challenges which required different approaches in each of those chapters. For example, the analysis in Chapter 6 was mainly based on the quantitative data, with the qualitative data supplying an

illustrative and explanatory role; while in Chapter 7 both data sets contributed more equally.

9. 5 Limitations of the Research

The limitations of the research have been noted at various points above.[156] The data are limited geographically to particular regions where the conflict was more intense as well as to some other areas chosen to give ready access to Franciscan leadership. This limitation, however, gives a particular depth to the data. Most participants were directly affected by Sri Lanka's conflict, many had lost loved ones and a number were engaged in ministries with those directly traumatised, particularly in the final period of intense violence.

Another limitation is that, although the research aimed to be in-depth, as it proceeded it became clear that there was great variety between different Franciscan congregations. This variety became an interesting point of analysis, especially in looking at community life and in understanding the range of ways of "being Franciscan," although a study limited to only several congregations could have permitted a greater depth of analysis.

A third potential limitation, researcher bias, has also been noted. Although I am a Franciscan and hence a "partial insider," I neither live in Sri Lanka, nor belong to any of the Franciscan congregations studied here. I am thus also a "partial outsider," but through shared Franciscan identity had access to other Franciscans in a way which perhaps an outsider could not.

9. 6 Implications

The research design did not test for causal relationships, therefore it is not possible to say anything as straightforward as "increase Franciscan knowledge" or "provide opportunities for people's faith to grow in openness," or "offer programmes to help Franciscan community health", as leading to an increase in active Franciscan peacemaking.

156. See sections 1.7 (p. 11) and 5.2.4 (p. 115).

Although it is possible to argue for the existence of such causal mechanisms, they were not tested here. Perhaps in such complex matters there are no clear relationships.

Nonetheless, as faith development, practising the skills for living in community, and Franciscan studies are part not only of Franciscan formation programmes but of the wider post-Vatican II agenda of renewal, perhaps it is good to ask how effective these are. Do they actualise that centrality of JPIC in all Franciscan life which its promoters hope for, or do other things block this aspiration? Are Franciscans so committed to existing patterns of ministry (e.g. running programmes and parishes) that it is hard or impossible to conceive of Franciscan life as JPIC-value-driven rather than task-driven? Perhaps this needs to be studied on a wider canvas.

More specifically, to return to the context of Franciscans in Sri Lanka. What are the implications of this study for them? It might feel like the impertinence or ignorance of an outsider to suggest anything. Their war has been, for them, a time of prolonged agony during which they have faithfully tried to go about daily prayers and ministries, welcoming those who come for counsel or rice, while at the same time struggling with their own pains. The end of the war has not brought much healing yet. Perhaps this study can simply encourage them to reflect further on the effects of that war on their lives and see how their faith, experience of community life and Franciscan identity plays out in their lives. Further study and training can be helpful, as can experiences which deepen faith and resilience. Perhaps some need more focused forms of healing. But there are stories to tell and celebrate as well.

9. 7 Further Questions

One question which was not addressed in this study was that of how peace and peacemaking is incorporated into Franciscan formation programmes. These are the programmes by which new members begin to "put on" their Franciscan identity. How is peace (in a wide sense) incorporated into those programmes? What do they learn of conflict resolution or the other skills for life in community? What do they learn of Franciscan peace texts?

JPIC has been observed to be problematic at times. It often seems to have become "another thing" to do or a meeting to send someone to. Yet the promoters of JPIC have the vision that JPIC is so central in all Franciscan life that it is as essential and

distinctive as the DNA in a human being. Hence, another question would be to ask why does there seem to be this problem? Is it a perception only, or is there some more solid reality to the disconnect between vision and reality?

The literature on NGOs in Sri Lanka has noted the difficulty of evaluating multiple small organisations which, although strong on rhetoric, may not achieve more than "feeling good" for the NGO members. This study did not attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of any of the peacemaking described by participants. The fieldwork design did not allow the time in local areas to interview, for example, those who may have taken part in some Franciscan-run programme. Also, these programmes were small and local and unlikely to have attracted any external review or comment.

This study—although positioned as "in-depth" shows that this term is relative. A study of greater depth on just one or two congregations, or even just the members of several local Franciscan communities, could yield some fascinating insights.

9. 8 Postscript: Personal Reflection

In this section I return once again to the singular first person pronoun. After completing the first round of fieldwork in 2013 I reflected on my experience for a departmental poster presentation. I likened it to a labyrinth.

> A physical path, walked slowly as a spiritual practice. Through twists and turns it leads to the centre. Through opposite twists and turns it leads back to its origin. Its ending is in its beginning, yet the walker / pilgrim has been transformed. It's a slow reflective practice.[157]

The journey to the centre was marked by the excitement of preparation for fieldwork which gave way to waves of despair at practical difficulties, and the challenges of finding ways of engaging with people who although willing to participate had many other concerns in their lives. This led to times of deep listening to people's stories and concerns; for me, this was the centre of the labyrinth. I emerged from this transformed, beginning to synthesise the stories, seeing patterns of engagement in Franciscan peacemaking. This led me (at the time of preparing the poster) to reflect more deeply. Was my data adequate?

157. Quotations in this section are from the poster, "Walking the Labyrinth of Fieldwork: Franciscans Working for Peace in Sri Lanka" I prepared for the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies poster presentation on 11 July 2013 (Figure 9-1, p. 291).

And personally, to face the challenge raised by realising that "the only person for whom my project is of vital importance is myself."

> Who am I to come amongst these good people with my silly questions? Yet many thanked me for taking the trouble to visit them; a number saying that my questions challenged them to think more about work for peace. Observation changes the observed.
>
> I have been, as a Franciscan, among other Franciscans. We adhere to the same values, yet many of them live their lives with a sacrificial intensity and focus I find challenging. How do I respond to that in the way I live my life?

Deeper engagement with the fieldwork data, both qualitative and quantitative, trying to bring scholarly rigour to its analysis, and my own regular practice of meditative prayer, led to the realisation that this labyrinth journey was not complete. As I began writing this thesis I realised I was once again circling my way into the centre, and then completing the journey back outwards, once again transformed. Some words from one of the participants have remained with me. He said that the work of the spiritual journey is to overcome all that mars the experience of God's goodness. "We have to go in there and see to it that what prevents that good to be shared has to be—sort of dismantled. And the dismantling is harder. It's really the dismantling of the mind and heart" (F10). This dismantling is the journey of becoming open and vulnerable, letting go of our own defences, so that we can empathise with the vulnerability and pain of others.

I have reflected on the experiences of faith, community life and Franciscan identity as they help shape the responses made by Franciscans to the violence around them. But perhaps what binds these together is the work of conversion. Of turning to good. Of the heart and mind being dismantled and remade.

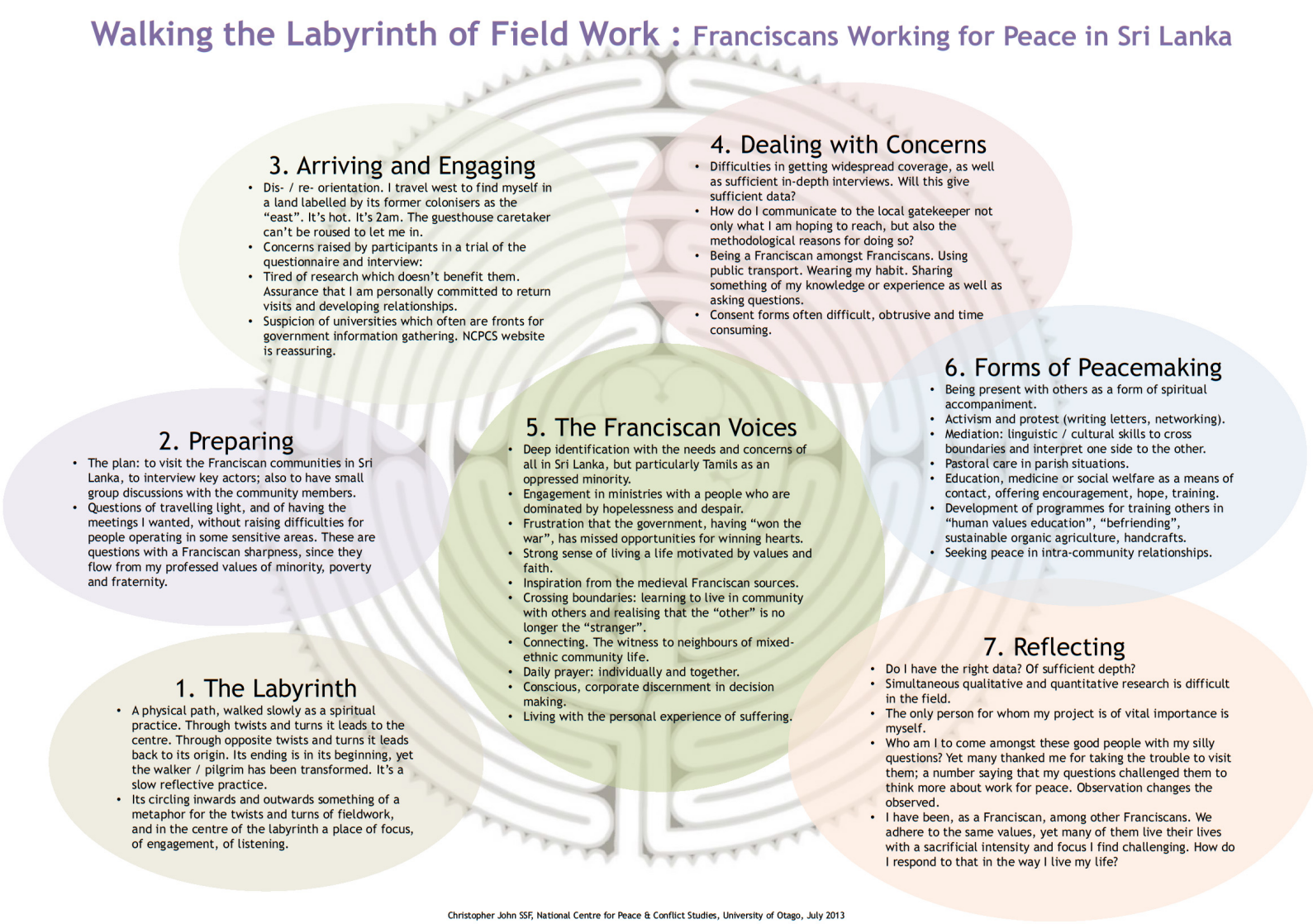

Figure 9-1: Walking the Labyrinth of Fieldwork.

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Appendix 1 Glossary

The glossary below is of terms used in the text with particular technical meanings in religious community life.

Animator	A person given the task of encouraging the implementation of particular policies, e.g. a JPIC animator.
Apostolate	The particular ministry undertaken by a religious community or its individual members.
Apostolic	Relating to the work of the apostolate.
CCFMC	The "Comprehensive Course on Franciscan Missionary Charism." An international and inter-congregational study/reflection programme on aspects of Franciscan life.
Chapter	The representative and governing body of a religious community or congregation.
Charism	Literally a "gift." The distinctive spirit which animates a particular religious congregation.
Cloister	The covered walkway round which monastic buildings were traditionally built. By extension it refers to the place in which monastic life is lived.
Community	The local expression of a particular religious congregation, consisting of at least two members sharing a common life.
Congregation	Technically "order" and "congregation" have slightly different meanings but they are used interchangeably here to denote a particular grouping of Franciscans under a common Rule and Constitutions.
Custody	A regional grouping of smaller Franciscan communities.
Diocese	The geographic administrative unit of the Catholic, etc. Church, under the pastoral oversight of a bishop.
Evangelical	Pertaining to the gospel, or good news, of Jesus Christ.
Formation	The process by which a person is initially trained in the life of a religious congregation.
Formator	The person with the responsibility of overseeing formation.
Fraternity	Used in a Franciscan context, "fraternity" refers more to the *quality* of horizontal relationship between members of a congregation or local community.
Hagiography	The life of a saint written in order to inform and inspire the hearer.
Inter-congregational	Of meetings or entities which include more than one congregation.
JPIC	Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation.

Lay	Not ordained as deacon, priest or bishop.
Legend	A hagiographic text to be read out loud in a particular religious setting such as during the cycle of daily prayer.
Minority	The quality of life valued by Franciscans which values “smallness” in lifestyle.
Order	Technically “order” and “congregation” have slightly different meanings but they are used interchangeably here to denote a particular grouping of Franciscans under a common Rule and Constitutions.
Province	The geographic unit of a religious congregation.
Provincialate	The main house of a congregation in a Province. Its administrative headquarters.
Vatican II	The Second Vatican Council, the twenty-first ecumenical council of the Catholic Church, and the second to be held at the Vatican, ran from 1962-1965 and brought about many changes in the orientation of the Catholic Church to the world and to other faiths.

Appendix 2 Selected Franciscan Peace Texts

Some selected Franciscan peace texts with brief introductions are included here, either because they have been referred to by participants, or because they illustrate key aspects of a Franciscan approach to peace. They are arranged approximately in order of composition.

2. 1 Selected References to Peace in the Writings of Francis

The Canticle of Creatures 10-11 (FA:ED 1, 114)[158]

> Praised be you, my Lord, through those who give pardon for your love, and bear infirmity and tribulation. Blessed are those who endure in peace for by you, Most High, shall they be crowned.

The Later Rule (1223) 13 (FA:ED 1, 102)

> Into whatever house [the brothers] enter, let them first say: "Peace be to this house" (Luke 10:5).

The Admonitions 15 (FA:ED 1, 134)

> Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God (Matthew 5:9). Those people are truly peacemakers who, regardless of what they suffer in this world, preserve peace of spirit and body out of love of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Testament 1-3 (FA:ED 1, 124). This text does not explicitly mention peace but was given by one of the friars interviewed as the foundational peace text for him, since it refers to healing of broken relationships.

> The Lord gave me, Brother Francis, thus to begin doing penance in this way: for when I was in sin, it seemed too bitter for me to see lepers. And the Lord himself led me among them and I showed mercy to them. And when I left them, what had seemed bitter to me was turned into sweetness of soul and body. And afterwards I delayed a little and left the world.

The Testament 23 (FA:ED 1, 126)

> The Lord revealed a greeting to me that we should say: "May the Lord give you peace" (2 Thessalonians 3:16).

158. References to the scholarly three volume set of Franciscan sources, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* are given in the form of *FA:ED*, followed by volume and page number.

2. 2 Selected References to Francis and his Mission of Peace in Early Lives of the Saint

The Life of St Francis, Thomas of Celano, 23 (FA:ED 1, 203)

In all of his preaching, before [Francis] presented the word of God to the assembly, he prayed for peace saying, "May the Lord give you peace" (2 Thessalonians 3:16). He always proclaimed this to men and women, to those he met and to those who met him. Accordingly, many who hated peace along with salvation, with the Lord's help wholeheartedly embraced peace. They became themselves children of peace, now rivals for eternal salvation.

The Life of St Francis, Thomas of Celano, 29 (FA:ED 1, 207)

Go, my dear brothers, [Francis] said to them, two by two through different parts of the world, announcing peace to the people and penance for the remission of sins. Be patient in trials, confident that the Lord will fulfil his plan and promise. Respond humbly to those who question you. Bless those who persecute you. Give thanks to those who harm you and bring false charges against you, for because of these things an eternal kingdom is prepared for us.

The Life of St Francis, Thomas of Celano, 41 (FA:ED 1, 219)

[The friars] so spurned earthly things that they barely accepted the most basic necessities of life; and, as they were usually far from bodily comfort, they did not fear hardship. In all these things, they sought peace and meekness with all. Always doing what was modest and peaceful, they scrupulously avoided all scandal. For they hardly spoke even when necessary; nor did anything harmful or useless come out of their mouth, so that in all their life and action nothing immodest or unbecoming could be found. Their every act was disciplined, their bearing modest.

2. 3 Three Examples of Peacemaking Described in the *Assisi Compilation*

The unnamed collection of stories of the early Franciscan fraternity frequently known as *Compilatio Assisiensis* [Assisi Compilation] was composed approximately 1224-1260. This source frequently presents vivid eye-witness accounts of incidents told with a freshness not present in other sources.

2. 3. 1 Making Peace between the Civil and Religious Authorities in Assisi

Assisi Compilation 84 (FA:ED 2, 187-188)

At that same time when [Francis] lay sick, the bishop of the city of Assisi at the time excommunicated the podestà.[159] In return, the man who was then podestà was enraged, and had this proclamation announced, loud and clear, throughout the city of Assisi: no one was to sell or buy anything from the

159. The elected civil official, charged with the responsibilities of chief magistrate and local administrator.

bishop, or to draw up any legal document with him. And so they thoroughly hated each another.

Although very ill, blessed Francis was moved by piety[160] for them, especially since there was no one, religious or secular, who was intervening for peace and harmony between them. He said to his companions: "It is a great shame for you, servants of God, that the bishop and the podestà hate one another in this way, and that there is no one intervening for peace and harmony between them." And so, for that reason, he composed one verse for the *Praises*:

Praised be by you, my Lord,
through those who give pardon for your love,
and bear infirmity and tribulation.
Blessed are those who endure in peace
for by you, Most High, they shall be crowned.

Afterwards he called one of his companions and told him: "Go to the podestà and, on my behalf, tell him to go to the bishop's residence together with the city's magistrates and bring with him as many others as he can." And when the brother had gone, he said to two of his other companions: "Go and sing the *Canticle of Brother Sun* before the bishop, the podestà, and the others who are with them. I trust in the Lord that he will humble their hearts and they will make peace with each other and return to their earlier friendship and love."

When they had all gathered in the piazza inside the cloister of the bishop's residence, the two brothers rose and one of them said: "In his illness, blessed Francis wrote the *Praises of the Lord* for his creatures, for his praise and the edification of his neighbour. He asks you, then, to listen to them with great devotion." And so, they began to sing and recite to them. And immediately the podestà stood up and, folding his arm and hand with great devotion, he listened intently, even with tears, as if to the Gospel of the Lord. For he had a great faith and devotion toward blessed Francis.

When the *Praises of the Lord* were ended, the podestà said to everyone: "I tell you the truth, not only do I forgive the lord bishop, whom I must have as my lord, but I would even forgive one who killed my brother or my son." And so he cast himself at the lord bishop's feet, telling him: "Look, I am ready to make amends to you for everything, as it pleases you, for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ and of his servant, blessed Francis."

Taking him by the hands, the bishop stood up and said to him: "Because of my office humility is expected of me, but because I am naturally prone to anger, you must forgive me." And so, with great kindness and love they embraced and kissed each other.

And the brothers marvelled greatly, considering the holiness of blessed Francis, that what he had foretold about peace and harmony between them had been fulfilled, to the letter. All the others who were present and heard it took it for a great miracle, crediting it to the merits of blessed Francis, that the Lord

160. The English word "piety" does not fully capture the meanings behind the Latin "pietas" which includes the religious duty to care for the afflicted or those bound by familial, etc. ties.

had so quickly visited them, and that without recalling anything that had been said, they returned to such harmony from such scandal.

2. 3. 2 Peacemaking in Arezzo

Inter-factional conflict was rife in Italian cities of the period. Here, the conflict is interpreted as resulting from demonic possession; peace was reached after Br Sylvester (a priest, unlike Francis) exorcised the city at the command of Francis, without the usual established ritual for peacemaking (a series of public sermons, a peace agreement including some reciprocal exchange, sealed by the sharing of the kiss of peace, concluding with a public celebration.)

Assisi Compilation 108 (FA:ED 2, 215)

> When [Francis and Br Sylvester] arrived at Arezzo, there was a great scandal and war night and day throughout almost the entire city, because of two factions who had hated each other for a long time. Blessed Francis heard all the noise and cries night and day; since he received hospitality in a hospice in a neighbourhood outside the city, it seemed to him that the demons were overjoyed by this and were inciting the people to destroy their city with fire and other dangerous means.
>
> Moved by piety[161] over that city, he said to Brother Sylvester, the priest, a man of God, of great faith and admirable simplicity and purity, whom the holy Father venerated as a saint: "Go in front of the city gate and in a loud voice command all the devils that they all leave this city." Brother Sylvester got up, went in front of the city gate crying out in a loud voice: "Praised and blessed be the Lord Jesus Christ. On behalf of Almighty God and in virtue of holy obedience of our most holy father Francis, I command all the devils that they all leave this city!" Through the mercy of God and the prayer of blessed Francis, it so happened that, without any preaching, shortly afterwards, they returned to peace and unity.

2. 3. 3 A Strategy for Converting the Robbers of Borgo San Sepolcro

This incident happened at the Hermitage of Monte Casale, in the forest above the town of Borgo San Sepolcro in Tuscany. Even though the story is framed as conversion of robbers it offers insights into handling of conflict both within a community and in relation to the outside "other."

Assisi Compilation 115 (FA:ED 2, 221-222)

> At one time robbers used to come sometimes to the hermitage of the brothers above Borgo San Sepolcro to ask the brothers for bread. They hid in the thick forest of that region, coming out from time to time to rob travellers on the streets and footpaths. Some of the brothers of that place said: "It is not right to give them alms because they are robbers and they do many very great evil things to people." Others, taking into consideration that they begged humbly

161. For "piety" see Footnote 160 above.

and were compelled by great necessity, used to give them alms sometimes, always admonishing them to be converted to penance.

Meanwhile blessed Francis arrived at that place. The brothers asked him whether they should give them bread, or not. "If you do as I tell you," blessed Francis told them, "I trust in the Lord that you will win their souls. Go get some good bread and good wine and take it to them in the woods where you know they are staying, and cry out: 'Come, Brother Robbers, come to us, because we are brothers and we are bringing you some good bread and good wine.' They will immediately come to you. Then you spread out a table cloth on the ground, placing the bread and wine on it, and, while they are eating, humbly and joyfully wait on them. After the meal, speak to them some words of the Lord. Finally, for the love of the Lord ask them for this first request: make them promise you that they will not strike anyone or injure anyone's person. Do not ask for everything all at once, or they will not listen to you. Because of the humility and charity you show them, they will at once make you this promise. The next day, get up and, because of the promise they made to you, besides eggs and cheese, bring them the bread and wine, and take these to them, and wait on them while they eat. After the meal, say to them: 'Why do you stay here all day long, dying of hunger, suffering many evil things and in your actions doing many evil things for which you will lose your souls unless you are converted? It is better to serve the Lord, who will both supply your bodily needs in this world and save your souls in the end.' Then the Lord in his mercy will inspire them to convert and they will be converted because of the humility and charity you show them."

So the brothers got up and did everything as blessed Francis told them. And by the mercy of God and his grace which descended on them, those men listened and observed to the letter point by point all the requests which the brothers asked of them. Further, because of the friendliness and charity the brothers showed them, they began carrying wood on their shoulders to the hermitage. By the mercy of God, through the charity and friendliness that the brothers showed them, some entered religion, others embraced penance, promising in the hands of the brothers no longer to commit these evil deeds but to live by the work of their hands.

The brothers and others who heard or knew about this, were quite amazed, as they reflected on the holiness of blessed Francis, how he had predicted the conversion of these men who had been perfidious and wicked, and how quickly they converted to the Lord.

2. 4 Francis and the Wolf of Gubbio

This story is found in two comparatively late Franciscan sources. The text printed here is from *I Fioretti di San Francesco* [The Little Flowers of Saint Francis], itself an Italian translation and re-editing of Ugolino Boniscambi of Montegiorgio's *Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum Eius* [The Deeds of St Francis and his Companions]. Modern scholarship dates this work to somewhere between 1328 and 1337. These sources are generally regarded as among the least historical of Franciscan writing, but their simple charm has given them an enduring popularity (FA:ED, 3, 429-433). The story of Francis and the Wolf has become a key Franciscan peace text and images and statues of Francis with a tamed wolf are ubiquitous across Sri Lanka's Franciscan houses.

The Very Holy Miracle that Saint Francis worked when he converted the Very Fierce Wolf of Gubbio

At the time that Saint Francis was staying in the city of Gubbio, in the district of Gubbio there appeared a very big wolf, fearsome and ferocious, which devoured not only animals but even human beings, so that all the citizens were in great fear, because many times he came near the city. All would go armed when they went out of the city as if they were going to combat, yet with all this, those who were alone and encountered him could not defend themselves from him. And out of fear of this wolf it came to the point that no one dared to leave that town.

For this reason Saint Francis had compassion on the people of the town, and decided to go out to this wolf, even though all the citizens advised against it. Making the sign of the most holy cross, he went out of the town, he and his companions, placing all his confidence in God. As the others hesitated to go any further, Saint Francis took the road toward the place where the wolf was. Then that wolf, seeing many citizens who had come to see this miracle, ran toward Saint Francis with his mouth open. Drawing close to him, Saint Francis made the sign of the most holy cross on him and called him to himself and said this: "Come here, Brother Wolf. I command you on behalf of Christ that you do no harm to me or to anyone." An amazing thing to say! Immediately, when Saint Francis had made the sign of the cross, the fearsome wolf closed his mouth and stopped running; and once the command was given, it came meekly as a lamb, and threw itself to lie at the feet of Saint Francis. And Saint Francis spoke to him thus: "Brother Wolf, you do much harm in this area, and you have done great misdeeds, destroying and killing the creatures of God without his permission. And not only have you killed and devoured beasts, but you have dared to kill people, made in the image of God. For this reason you are worthy of the gallows as a thief and the worst of murderers. And all the people cry out and complain against you, and all this town is your enemy. But I, Brother Wolf, want to make peace between you and these people, so that you do not offend them anymore, and they may pardon you every past offense, and so neither the people nor the dogs will persecute you anymore. And after these words were said, the wolf showed that he accepted what Saint Francis said and wanted to observe it, by movement of his body and tail and ears and by bowing his head. Then Saint Francis said, "Brother Wolf, since it pleases you to make this pact of peace and keep it, I promise that I will have food given to you constantly, as long as you live, by the people of this town, so that you will no longer suffer hunger, since I know very well that you did all this harm because of hunger. But in order for me to obtain this grace for you, I want you, Brother Wolf, to promise me that you will never harm any human person nor any animal. Do you promise me this?" And the wolf, bowing his head, made a clear sign that he promised it. And Saint Francis said this: "Brother Wolf, I want you to guarantee this promise, so that I can truly trust it." Saint Francis reached out his hand to receive his guarantee, the wolf lifted his right paw in front of him, and tamely placed it on top of the hand of Saint Francis, giving the only sign of a guarantee that he was able to make.

Then Saint Francis said, "Brother Wolf; I command you in the name of Jesus Christ: come with me now without any hesitation, and we will go to seal this

peace-pact in the name of God." And the obedient wolf went with him like a tame lamb; and the citizens, seeing this, were greatly amazed. Immediately this news was known throughout the whole city; and because of it all the people, men and women, great and small, young and old, poured into the piazza to see the wolf with Saint Francis. And once all the people were fully assembled Saint Francis got up and preached to them, saying, among other things, that God allows such things and pestilences because of sins; and the flame of hell, which lasts forever for the damned, is much more dangerous than the fierceness of the wolf; which can only kill the body. "How much should the mouth of hell be feared when the mouth of a little animal holds such a great multitude in fear! Dear people, return to God, therefore, and do fitting penance for your sins, and God will free you from the wolf in the present, and from hell's fire in the future." When he finished the sermon, Saint Francis said, "Listen, my brothers! Brother Wolf, who is here before you, has promised me, and given me his guarantee, to make peace with you and never to offend you in anything, if you will promise him to give him every day the things he needs. And I make myself trustee for him that he will firmly observe the peace-pact." Then all the people with one voice promised to feed him regularly. And Saint Francis in front of them all, said to the wolf: "And you, Brother Wolf, do you promise to observe the peace-pact with these people, that you will not harm the people, the animals, nor any creature?" And the wolf knelt down and bowed his head and with gentle movements of his body and tail and ears showed, as much as possible, that he wished to observe every part of the pact with them. Saint Francis said: "Brother Wolf, as you gave me a guarantee of this promise outside the gate, I also want you to give me in front of all the people a guarantee of your promise, that you will not deceive me in my promise and the guarantee that I gave for you." Then the wolf, lifting his right paw, placed it in the hand of Saint Francis. Because of this action, and the others mentioned above, there was such rejoicing and wonder among all the people, both for the devotion of the Saint and for the novelty of the miracle and for the peace of the wolf, that they all began to cry out to heaven, praising and blessing God who sent Saint Francis to them who, through his merits, had freed them from the jaws of the cruel beast.

Afterwards that same wolf lived in Gubbio for two years, and he tamely entered the houses, going from door to door, without doing harm to anyone and without any being done to him; and he was kindly fed by the people, and as he went this way through the town and the houses, no dog barked at him. Finally after two years Brother Wolf died of old age, at which the citizens grieved very much, because when they saw him going through the city so tamely, they better recalled the virtue and holiness of Saint Francis.

2. 5 Francis and the Sultan

The meeting between Francis and the Sultan Malik-al-Kamil occurred in 1219 during the fifth Crusade, when for tactical reasons the Crusaders attacked Egypt rather than Palestine. At this time, they were besieging Damietta, on the delta of the Nile. There are references to this in several Franciscan sources as well as non-Franciscan chronicles. The Franciscan *Earlier Rule*, probably composed in stages between 1210 and 1221 in response to the changing needs of the rapidly growing Order, in its Chapter 16 on "Those going among Saracens and other nonbelievers" describes two ways in which, after discernment and with permission, brothers can do so. One way

is simply "to acknowledge that they are Christians," and "not to engage in arguments or disputes but to be subject to every human creature for God's sake." The other way "is to announce the Word of God, when they see it pleases the Lord, in order that [unbelievers] may believe in almighty God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Creator of all, the Son, the Redeemer and Saviour, and be baptised and become Christians" (FA:ED 1, 74). This passage was considerably reduced in the officially recognised Later Rule of 1223 to a simple requirement that brothers who feel inspired for this mission are to do so with their provincial minister's permission (FA:ED 1, 106).

Three of the related Franciscan sources are included here. The first, by Thomas of Celano, is from the *Life of St Francis* he wrote in 1228-9. This work was written as part of the official proclamation of Francis as saint, and stresses the holiness of Francis as a model for others to follow. The second is from the *Legenda Maior Sancti Francisci* [Major Legend of St Francis], written by the then Franciscan Minister General, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio 1260-1263. This work was intended to be the single official life of Francis and replace all the existing texts. Differing interpretations of Francis and of Franciscan values were causing confusion. Bonaventure's interpretation shows a Francis loyal and obedient to church teachings and with a zeal for conversion not depicted in Celano's work.

Some of the aspects of contemporary scholarly interpretation of these sources are referred to above in Section 4.2.2 (p. 67). This meeting is frequently a starting point for contemporary JPIC material on interfaith relations; the Sri Lankan Franciscans frequently referred to it as showing a way of respectfully being with those of other faiths.

The Life of St Francis, Thomas of Celano, 57 (FA:ED 1, 231).

> But still [Francis] would not rest from carrying out fervently the holy impulse of his spirit. Now in the thirteenth year of his conversion, he journeyed to the region of Syria,[162] while bitter and long battles were being waged daily between Christians and pagans. Taking a companion with him, he was not afraid to present himself to the sight of the Sultan of the Saracens.
>
> Who is equal to the task of telling this story?
> What great firmness he showed standing in front of him!
> With great strength of soul he spoke to him,
> with eloquence and confidence
> he answered those who insulted the Christian law.
>
> Before he reached the Sultan, he was captured by soldiers, insulted and beaten, but was not afraid. He did not flinch at threats of torture nor was he shaken by death threats. Although he was ill-treated by many with a hostile spirit and a harsh attitude, he was received very graciously by the Sultan. The Sultan honoured him as much as he could, offering him many gifts, trying to turn his mind to worldly riches. But when he saw that he resolutely scorned all these things like dung, the Sultan was overflowing with admiration and recognized him as a man unlike any other. He was moved by his words and listened to him very willingly.

162. Syria was often used as a general name for the Levant.

Major Legend of St Francis, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, 9:7-9 (FA:ED 2, 601-604)

In the thirteenth year of his conversion, Francis journeyed to the regions of Syria,[163] constantly exposing himself to many dangers in order to reach the presence of the Sultan of Babylon. For at that time there was a fierce war between the Christians and the Saracens, with their camps situated in close quarters opposite each other in the field, so that there was no way of passing from one to the other without danger of death. A cruel edict had been issued by the Sultan that whoever would bring back the head of a Christian would receive as a reward a gold piece. But Francis, the intrepid knight of Christ, hoping to be able to achieve his purpose, decided to make the journey, not terrified by the fear of death, but rather drawn by desire for it. After praying, strengthened by the Lord, he confidently chanted that prophetic verse: "Even if I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I shall not fear evil because you are with me" (Ps 23.4).

Taking a companion with him, a brother named Illuminato, a virtuous and enlightened man, after he had begun his journey, he came upon two lambs. Overjoyed to see them, the holy man said to his companion: "Trust in the Lord, brother, for the gospel text is being fulfilled in us: 'Behold, I am sending you forth like sheep in the midst of wolves' (Mt 10. 16). When they proceeded farther, the Saracen sentries fell upon them like wolves swiftly overtaking sheep, savagely seizing the servants of God, and cruelly and contemptuously dragging them away, treating them with insults, beating them with whips, and putting them in chains.

Finally, after they had been maltreated in many ways and were exhausted, by divine providence they were led to the Sultan, just as the man of God wished. When that ruler inquired by whom, why, and how they had been sent and how they got there, Christ's servant, Francis, answered with an intrepid heart that he had been sent not by man but by the Most High God in order to point out to him and his people the way of salvation and to announce the Gospel of truth.

He preached to the Sultan the Triune God and the one Saviour of all, Jesus Christ, with such great firmness, such strength of soul, and such fervour of spirit that the words of the Gospel appeared to be truly fulfilled in him: "I will give you utterance and wisdom which all your adversaries will not be able to resist or answer back" (Lk 21.15).

For the Sultan, perceiving in the man of God a fervour of spirit and a courage that had to be admired, willingly listened to him and invited him to stay longer with him. Inspired from heaven, Christ's servant said: "If you wish to be converted to Christ along with your people, I will most gladly stay with you for love of him. But if you hesitate to abandon the law of Mohammed for the faith of Christ, then command that an enormous fire be lit and I will walk into the fire along with your priests so that you will recognize which faith deserves to be held as the holier and more certain." "I do not believe," the Sultan replied, "that any of my priests would be willing to expose himself to the fire to defend his faith or to undergo any kind of torment." For he had seen immediately one

163. Syria was often used as a general name for the Levant. The *Sultan of Babylon* was actually the ruler of Egypt (Babylon was the name given to modern Cairo) whose power extended over the Holy Land except for the small enclaves still held by the Crusaders.

of his priests, a man full of authority and years, slipping away from his view when he heard Francis's words.

"If you wish to promise me that if I come out of the fire unharmed," the saint said to the Sultan, "you and your people will come over to the worship of Christ, then I will enter the fire alone. And if I shall be burned, you must attribute it to my sins. But if God's power protects me, you will acknowledge Christ the power and wisdom of God as the true God and the Saviour of all." The Sultan replied that he did not dare to accept this choice because he feared a revolt among his people. Nevertheless he offered him many precious gifts, which the man of God, greedy not for worldly possessions but the salvation of souls, spurned as if they were dirt. Seeing that the holy man so completely despised worldly possessions, the Sultan was overflowing with admiration, and developed an even greater respect for him. Although he refused, or perhaps did not dare, to come over to the Christian faith, he nevertheless devoutly asked Christ's servant to accept the gifts and give them to the Christian poor or to churches for his salvation. But, because he was accustomed to flee the burden of money and did not see a root of true piety in the Sultan's soul, Francis would in no way accept them.

When he saw that he was making no progress in converting these people and that he could not achieve his purpose, namely martyrdom, he went back to the lands of the faithful, as he was advised by a divine revelation.

A different incident is told by Thomas of Celano in his *Memoriale Desiderio Animae* [The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul]. This life of Francis was composed 1245-1247 in response to considerable changes in the Order over the twenty years since the death of its founder, and incorporates some new material, such as the following. Opinion is divided as to its interpretation. Some see it as indicating a general condemnation by Francis of all fighting, or of this particular Crusade. Others regard it as more concerned only with Francis' prophecy that disaster would befall the Crusaders if they fought on the one particular day revealed to Francis.

The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul, Thomas of Celano, 2.4 (FA:ED 2, 265-266)

How he Foretold the Massacre of Christians at Damietta

When the Christian army was besieging Damietta, the holy man of God was there with his companions, since they had crossed the sea in their fervour for martyrdom. When the holy man heard that our forces were preparing for war, on the day of battle he grieved deeply. He said to his companion: "If the battle happens on this day the Lord has shown me that it will not go well for the Christians. But If I say this, they will take me for a fool, and if I keep silent my conscience won't leave me alone. What do you think I should do?" His companion replied: "Father, don't give the least thought to how people judge you. This wouldn't be the first time people took you for a fool. Unburden your conscience, and fear God rather than men."

The saint leapt to his feet, and rushed to the Christians crying out warnings to save them, forbidding war and threatening disaster. But they took the truth as a joke. They hardened their hearts and refused to turn back. They charged, they attacked, they fought, and then the enemy struck back.

In that moment of battle, filled with suspense, the holy man made his companion get up to look. The first and the second time he got up, he saw nothing,

so Francis told him to look a third time. What a sight! The whole Christian army was in retreat fleeing from the battle carrying not triumph but shame. The massacre was so great that between the dead and the captives the number of our forces was diminished by six thousand. Compassion for them drove the holy man, no less than regret, for what they had done overwhelmed them. He wept especially for the Spaniards: he could see their boldness in battle had left only a few of them alive.

Let the princes of the whole world take note of this,
and let them know:
it is not easy to fight against God,
that is, against the will of the Lord.
Stubborn insolence usually ends in disaster.
It relies on its own strength,
thus forfeiting the help of heaven.
If victory is to be expected from on high,
then battles must be entrusted to the divine Spirit.

2. 6 The Franciscan Peace Prayer

This prayer was not composed by Francis; scholarship has traced its earliest known version to a French magazine published in January 1913. A little later it was printed on the reverse of a picture of St Francis, thereby cementing in popular opinion the saint's authorship of the prayer. Its earliest appearance in English translation appears to be 1936. (Poulenc 1996, Schulz 1996, Van Dijk 1996). Although not written by Francis, the content of the prayer strikes a note of Franciscan authenticity. In the fieldwork it was one of the most frequently referred to Franciscan texts; and the one most often seen written on convent or friary walls.

Lord, make me an instrument of your peace.
Where there is hatred, let me sow love;
where there is injury, pardon;
where there is discord, unity;
where there is error, truth;
where there is doubt, faith;
where there is despair, hope;
where there is darkness, light;
where there is sadness, joy.

O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek
to be consoled as to console,
to be understood as to understand,
to be loved as to love.
For it is in giving that we receive;
it is in forgetting ourselves, that we find ourselves;
it is in pardoning that we are pardoned;
and it is in dying that we are born to eternal life.

Appendix 3 Questionnaire

Franciscan Apostolate, Faith, Values and Community Life Questionnaire

Thank you for taking part in this questionnaire. It is part of a research project studying Franciscan sisters, friars and secular Franciscans and how they draw on their faith and tradition of peace. This questionnaire is completely anonymous and you can withdraw from answering it at any stage without any penalty.

I'm interested in your ***own*** *opinions, rather than those of your congregation or order. You might find it hard to answer some questions. If possible try to do so without thinking for too long; just give the answer which seems to you be the best fit for the question.*

A. First there are some questions about yourself and your community

A1 What is your state in religious life? *Please circle the answer below (novices, please answer as "sister" or "friar" as appropriate. OFS or others associated with a community, e.g. in some form of shared apostolate or life of collaboration, please answer as "associate".*

Sister	Friar (not ordained)	Friar (ordained)	OFS / Associate (female)	OFS / Associate (male)

A2 How old are you now? *Please circle the answer below:*

18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80 or older

A3 How old were you when you entered religious life (i.e. when you started as a novice)? *Please circle the answer below. For OFS members give your age of joining OFS. Associate members please give your age when you began to be formally associated with the sisters or friars of this congregation.*

18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 or older

A4 How many years have you lived in your current local community? *Please circle the answer below*

Less than 5	5-9	10-14	15 or more	Not applicable (e.g. OFS)

A5 How many members are in this community?

Less than 5	5-9	10-14	15 or more	Not applicable (e.g. OFS)

A6 Is where you now live in a: *Please circle the answer below*

Village or smaller	Town	City

A7 In what diocese do you now live: *Please circle the answer below*

Anuradhapura	Badulla	Batticaloa
Chilaw	Colombo	Galle
Jaffna	Kandy	Kurunegala
Mannar	Ratnapura	Trincomalee

B. Now some questions about the apostolate or work you do.

Here is a list of some different forms of peacemaking. Please read it and then circle ***all*** the ones you have taken part in for each of the three time periods indicated. *(You can circle more than one number in each row or column).*		**Done before May 2009 (the date of the military defeat of the LTTE)**	**Done between May 2009 and now**	**Currently doing**
B1	Advocacy (activism - working for positive change in society; truth-telling - speaking out against injustices)	1	2	3
B2	Being an intermediary (fact finding, aiding communications, peace-process advocacy, facilitation, conciliation, mediation)	1	2	3
B3	Observer (being a physical presence intended to discourage violence, corruption, human rights violations or other threatening or undesired behaviour)	1	2	3
B4	Education (Training others in conflict resolution, democracy, or living with diversity; increasing awareness of injustice, or promoting healing and reconciliation)	1	2	3
B5	Facilitating understanding between parties in conflict (e.g. by meeting for dialogue, working together at common projects, or other methods).	1	2	3
B6	Nonviolent action as a form of protest against injustice.	1	2	3
B7	Dialogue with other religions	1	2	3
B8	Dialogue with other Christian churches	1	2	3
B9	Liturgical activities such as prayer or worship for peace (not including the usual daily office or Mass)	1	2	3
B10	Spiritual activities such as meditation or fasting for peace	1	2	3
B11	*Other (please give details)*	1	2	3
B12	*Other (please give details)*	1	2	3
B13	*Other (please give details)*	1	2	3

B14 How many days a week do you normally spend on peacemaking activities at present?
Please circle the answer below:

1 day or less	2-3 days	4-5 days	6-7 days

B15 Think now about the activities you do in a normal week. What activities take most of your time?
Please describe them briefly in just a few words:

.....

.....

.....

C. Thank you. Now there are some questions about your faith and values:

Read each sentence below. How accurately does it describe your own opinion? *Circle the corresponding number.*		**Very accurate**	**Moderately accurate**	**Neither inaccurate nor accurate**	**Moderately inaccurate**	**Very inaccurate**
C1	What the texts and stories of my religion tell me is absolutely true and must not be changed	1	2	3	4	5
C2	When people want to know how the world came to be, they need to hear a creation story.	1	2	3	4	5
C3	When I have to make a decision, I take care that my plans are acceptable by my religious teachings.	1	2	3	4	5
C4	The stories and teachings of my religion give meaning to the experiences of my life and reveal the unchangeable truth about God or the Divine.	1	2	3	4	5
C5	The teachings of my religion offer answers to any question in my life, if I am ready to listen.	1	2	3	4	5
C6	When I make a decision, I look at all sides of the issue and come up with the best decision possible.	1	2	3	4	5
C7	Although every person deserves respect and fairness, arguments need to be voiced rationally.	1	2	3	4	5
C8	We should resolve differences in how people appear to each other through fair and just discussion.	1	2	3	4	5
C9	Regardless of how people appear to each other, we are all human.	1	2	3	4	5
C10	It is important to understand others through a sympathetic understanding of their culture and religion.	1	2	3	4	5
C11	We can learn from each other what ultimate truth each religion contains.	1	2	3	4	5
C12	We need to look beyond the denominational and religious differences to find the ultimate reality.	1	2	3	4	5
C13	When I make a decision, I am open to contradicting proposals from diverse sources and philosophical standpoints.	1	2	3	4	5
C14	Religious stories and representations from any religion unite me with the ultimate universe.	1	2	3	4	5

		Very inaccurate	Moderately inaccurate	Neither inaccurate nor accurate	Moderately accurate	Very accurate
C15	The truth I see in other world views leads me to re-examine my current views.	1	2	3	4	5
C16	For Franciscans, peace is mainly about having an inner peacefulness, rather than working for peace in the world.	1	2	3	4	5
C17	For Franciscans, their prayer will usually lead them to an active involvement in the world around them.	1	2	3	4	5
C18	Franciscans take vows so they can be detached from the world and devoted to God.	1	2	3	4	5
C19	Francis of Assisi founded a new form of socio-economic life.	1	2	3	4	5
C20	The goals of the community *(or family for OFS)* I live in are more important than my own personal goals.	1	2	3	4	5
C21	I am the best person to make the decisions about my life such as where I live or the work I do.	1	2	3	4	5
C22	Individual ministry and mission are more important than living in community *(or than family relationships for OFS).*	1	2	3	4	5
C23	I like the challenge of living with others in my local Franciscan community *(or of being a member of my fraternity for OFS).*	1	2	3	4	5

D. Thanks for your answers so far. Now there are some questions about your local Franciscan community or family life.

Read each sentence below. How typical is it of your **own local Franciscan community**? (i.e. the people you live with in your convent or friary) *(or your own family for OFS). Circle the corresponding number.*		**Not at all typical of my community *(family)***	**Not very typical of my community *(family)***	**Somewhat typical of my community *(family)***	**Fairly typical of my community *(family)***
D1	Planning community *(or family)* activities is difficult because we misunderstand each other.	1	2	3	4
D2	In times of crisis we can turn to each other for support.	1	2	3	4
D3	We cannot talk to each other about the sadness we feel.	1	2	3	4
D4	Individuals are accepted for what they are.	1	2	3	4
D5	We avoid discussing our fears and concerns.	1	2	3	4
D6	We can express feelings to each other.	1	2	3	4
D7	There are lots of bad feelings in the community *(or family)* I live with.	1	2	3	4
D8	We feel accepted for what we are.	1	2	3	4
D9	Making decisions is a problem for the community *(or family)* I live with.	1	2	3	4
D10	We are able to make decisions about how to solve problems.	1	2	3	4
D11	We don't get along well together.	1	2	3	4
D12	We confide in each other.	1	2	3	4

E. We're nearly finished. Just a few final questions about yourself

E1 What country were you born in?

E2 Which ethnic group do you belong to? *Please circle the answer below:*

Sinhalese	Tamil	Burgher	Other

E3 What is the highest level of education you have completed? If currently enrolled, answer with the highest level already reached. *Please circle the answer below:*

Primary	Secondary	Vocational or technical qualification	University certificate or diploma	Bachelors degree	Masters degree or higher

Thank you for your time completing this questionnaire. Your answers have been very helpful for our research project. Wishing you all good and peace.

Appendix 4 Summary Tables for Chapter 5

4. 1 Entry Age

Table 4-1: Entry Age (A3) (broken down by Religious State)

	Religious State (Frequency)							
Entry Age	***Sister***	***Friar (not ord)***	***Friar (ord)***	***OFS (female)***	***OFS (male)***	***Total***	***Percent***	***Valid Percent***
18-29	56	26	3	9	2	**96**	75.6	78.0
30-39	3	1	0	6	0	**10**	7.9	8.1
40-49	0	0	0	8	0	**8**	6.3	6.5
50-59	0	0	0	3	0	**3**	2.4	2.4
60 or older	2	0	0	3	1	**6**	4.7	4.9
Total	61	27	3	29	3	**123**	96.9	100.0
No response	0	1	0	2	1	**4**	3.1	
Overall Total	61	28	3	31	4	**127**	100.0	

4. 2 Years in Current Community

Table 4-2: Years in Current Community (A4) (Broken down by Current Age)

	Current Age (Frequency)										
Years in Current Community	***18-29***	***30-39***	***40-49***	***50-59***	***60-69***	***70-79***	***80 +***	***No resp***	***Total***	***Percent***	***Valid Percent***
Less than 5	17	13	16	5	6	6	0	1	**64**	50.4	51.2
5-9	10	5	2	1	1	2	1	1	**22**	17.3	17.6
10-14	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	**1**	.8	.8
15 or more	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	**3**	2.4	2.4
Not living in comm. (OFS)	5	5	7	12	4	1	0	0	**35**	27.6	28.0
Total	32	23	26	19	11	11	1	2	**125**	98.4	100.0
No response	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		**2**	1.6	
Overall total	32	24	26	19	11	11	1		**127**	100.0	

4. 3 Members in Current Community

Table 4-3: Members in Current Community (A5) (Broken down by Religious State)

	Religious State (Frequency)							
Members in Current Community	***Sister***	***Friar (not ord)***	***Friar (ord)***	***OFS (female)***	***OFS (male)***	***Total***	***Percent***	***Valid Percent***
Less than 5	28	6	2	0	0	**36**	28.3	28.6
5-9	25	0	1	0	0	**26**	20.5	20.6
10-14	7	4	0	0	0	**11**	8.7	8.7
15 or more	1	17	0	0	0	**18**	14.2	14.3
Not living in comm. (OFS)	0	0	0	31	4	**35**	27.6	27.8
Total	61	27	3	31	4	**126**	99.2	100.0
No response	0	1	0	0	0	**1**	.8	
Overall total	61	28	3	31	4	**127**	100.0	

4. 4 Locale

Table 4-4: Locale (A6) (Broken down by Members in Current Community)

	Members in Current Community (Frequency)								
Locale	***<5***	***5-9***	***10-14***	***15 or more***	***NA***	***No response***	***Total***	***Percent***	***Valid Percent***
Village or smaller	25	12	1	6	2	0	**46**	36.2	37.1
Town	8	10	8	9	3	1	**39**	30.7	31.5
City	2	4	2	2	29	0	**39**	30.7	31.5
Total	35	26	11	17	34	1	**124**	97.6	100.0
No response	1	0	0	1	1		**3**	2.4	
Overall total	36	26	11	18	35	1	**127**	100.0	

4. 5 Education

Table 4-5: Education (E3) (broken down by Religious State)

	Religious State (Frequency)							
Education	***Sister***	***Friar (not ord)***	***Friar (ord)***	***OFS (female)***	***OFS (male)***	***Total***	***Percent***	***Valid Percent***
Primary	1	0	0	2	0	**3**	2.4	2.5
Secondary	19	7	1	24	1	**52**	40.9	43.3
Vocational / Technical	12	3	0	2	2	**19**	15.0	15.8
Univ. cert. or dipl.	12	7	1	0	0	**20**	15.7	16.7
Bachelor's degree	8	9	0	2	0	**19**	15.0	15.8
Master's or higher	5	0	1	0	1	**7**	5.5	5.8
Total	57	26	3	30	4	**120**	94.5	100.0
No response	4	2	0	1	0	**7**	5.5	
Overall total	61	28	3	31	4	**127**	100.0	

Appendix 5 Regression Tables for Chapter 6

Logistic Regression Analysis by Form of Peacemaking regressed on RSS

Table 5-1: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Advocacy (Pre-May 2009) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.20	.07	.82	<.01**	-.19	.08	.82	.02*				
ftr	-.04	.05	.96	.40	-.06	.06	.94	.28				
xenos	.09	.08	1.09	.26	.07	.08	1.08	.39				
CH	-.01	.04	.99	.75	.02	.05	1.02	.76				
RS-Sr				.04*				.88				
-Friar	-.57	.65	.56	.38	.06	.94	1.06	.95				
-Sec	1.43	.65	4.18	.03*	.48	.95	1.61	.61				
Ed	.35	.20	1.42	.08	.29	.22	1.34	.19				
Age					.28	.18	1.32	.13				
Prov-N								.26				
-E					-.18	.88	.84	.84				
-C					-.87	.83	.42	.30				
-W					-.31	1.19	.74	.80				
-O					2.01	1.17	7.43	.09				
Loc					.78	.49	2.18	.11				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	.04				.04				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.18				.28							
HL	.59				.29							
N	110				104							

Note: B = unstandardised regression coefficient, S.E. = standard error, Beta = standardised regression coefficient, *p* is two-tailed. OS = significance for omnibus test of model coefficients, R^2 = Nagelkerke R^2, HL = significance for Hosmer and Lemeshow test. CH = Community Health scale, *ttt*, *ftr* and *xenos* are the three Religious Schema Scale subscales, RS = Religious State (Brother cf. Sister), Ed = Education, Age = Current Age, Prov = Province (Northern, Eastern, Central, Western, Other), Loc = Locale (village/town/city), Mbrs = Number of Community Members, Eth = Ethnicity (Sinhalese, Tamil, Burgher, Other). * = significant at 5%; ** = significant at 1%.

Table 5-2: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by being Intermediary (Pre-May 2009) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.16	.08	.85	.04*								
ftr	.01	.06	1.01	.84								
xenos	.11	.09	1.12	.20								
CH	-.06	.05	.95	.25								
RS-Sr				.17								
-Friar	-.44	.71	.65	.54								
-Sec	1.12	.72	3.07	.12								
Ed	.29	.21	1.34	.17								
Age												
Prov-N												
-E												
-C												
-W												
-O												
Loc												
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	.32				*No stable solution*				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.11											
HL	.75											
N	110											

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-3: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by being Intermediary (May 2009–May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.14	.06	.87	.03*	-.17	.09	.85	.05*	-.16	.09	.85	.08
ftr	.02	.05	1.02	.68	-.02	.06	.98	.71	<.01	.06	1.00	.94
xenos	.14	.07	1.15	.06	.20	.10	1.23	.03*	.24	.11	1.27	.03*
CH	-.01	.04	.99	.72	-.03	.05	.97	.47	-.04	.05	.96	.41
RS-Sr				.06				.08				.99
-Friar	-.23	.55	.80	.68	-.80	.84	.45	.34	.12	.97	1.12	.90
-Sec	-2.08	.87	.12	.02*	-2.39	1.13	.09	.03*	.26	1.81	1.30	.88
Ed	.06	.19	1.07	.73	.03	.23	1.03	.89	<.01	.24	1.00	1.00
Age					-.17	.18	.84	.35	-.29	.20	.75	.15
Prov-N								.12				.42
-E					.32	.84	1.38	.70	-.23	.92	.80	.81
-C					-.21	.79	.81	.79	-.22	.98	.81	.83
-W					3.51	1.52	33.44	.02*	3.59	1.99	36.33	.07
-O					1.28	1.14	3.59	.26	-.09	1.47	.92	.95
Loc					.19	.46	1.21	.67	.41	.54	1.50	.45
Mbrs									-.99	.47	.37	.04*
Eth-S												1.00
-T									-.17	.97	.84	.86
-B									-.19	1.54	.83	.90
-O									-.06	1.00	.94	.95
Tests of model fit												
OS	<.01				<.01				<.01			
R^2	.25				.40				.44			
HL	.71				.72				.71			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-4: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by being Intermediary (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.06	.07	.94	.35	-.14	.08	.87	.11	-.22	.10	.80	.03
ftr	-.07	.05	.94	.22	-.11	.07	.90	.10	-.12	.07	.89	.09
xenos	.16	.07	1.18	.03*	.27	.10	1.31	.01**	.35	.11	1.42	<.01**
CH	.08	.04	1.08	.07	.10	.05	1.10	.05	.12	.06	1.13	.04
RS-Sr				.24				.28				.84
-Friar	.41	.59	1.51	.48	1.17	.90	3.23	.19	.09	1.14	1.09	.94
-Sec	1.05	.62	2.85	.09	1.48	1.11	4.37	.18	-.95	1.87	.39	.61
Ed	.08	.18	1.09	.64	.18	.22	1.20	.41	.31	.24	1.36	.19
Age					-.19	.18	.83	.31	-.20	.20	.82	.31
Prov-N								.13				.21
-E					-.79	.91	.46	.39	-.46	1.06	.63	.66
-C					-2.18	.86	.11	.01**	-2.36	1.00	.09	.02*
-W					-1.07	1.15	.34	.35	-2.23	1.63	.11	.17
-O					-2.14	1.37	.12	.12	-.66	1.66	.52	.69
Loc					-.38	.54	.68	.48	-.27	.60	.77	.66
Mbrs									.82	.46	2.28	.08
Eth-S												.91
-T									.71	1.03	2.03	.49
-B									.65	1.64	1.91	.69
-O									.05	1.10	1.05	.96
Tests of model fit												
OS	.09				.03				.03			
R^2	.15				.28				.34			
HL	.58				.04				1.00			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-5: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by being Observer (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.08	.06	.93	.23	-.06	.07	.94	.39	-.12	.08	.89	.15
ftr	-.05	.05	.95	.35	-.04	.05	.96	.42	-.02	.06	.98	.66
xenos	.15	.07	1.16	.05*	.12	.08	1.12	.16	.16	.09	1.18	.08
CH	.03	.04	1.03	.52	.04	.05	1.04	.34	.03	.05	1.03	.48
RS-Sr				.90				.61				.90
-Friar	.05	.55	1.05	.94	-.08	.74	.92	.91	.08	.84	1.08	.93
-Sec	-.25	.63	.77	.69	-.90	.90	.41	.32	.70	1.56	2.01	.65
Ed	.29	.18	1.33	.10	.37	.20	1.45	.06	.42	.22	1.52	.05*
Age					-.27	.17	.76	.12	-.31	.19	.73	.09
Prov-N								.74				.49
-E					.55	.80	1.74	.49	.10	.86	1.11	.90
-C					-.48	.73	.62	.51	-.59	.81	.55	.47
-W					-.92	1.09	.40	.40	-2.23	1.35	.11	.10
-O					-.14	1.07	.87	.89	-1.02	1.36	.36	.45
Loc					.47	.42	1.60	.26	.40	.48	1.50	.40
Mbrs									-.48	.37	.62	.19
Eth-S												.75
-T									-.24	.88	.79	.78
-B									1.18	1.41	3.27	.40
-O									.27	.86	1.32	.75
Tests of model fit												
OS	.08				.28				.30			
R^2	.15				.19				.24			
HL	.72				1.00				.64			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-6: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Education (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.03	.06	.97	.59	-.08	.08	.92	.31	-.13	.09	.88	.14
ftr	-.04	.05	.96	.41	-.03	.06	.97	.64	-.02	.06	.98	.68
xenos	.15	.07	1.17	.03*	.20	.09	1.22	.02*	.23	.09	1.25	.01**
CH	.03	.04	1.03	.40	.05	.05	1.05	.27	.04	.05	1.04	.39
RS-Sr				.98				.75				1.00
-Friar	-.07	.55	.94	.90	.41	.78	1.50	.60	.04	.89	1.04	.97
-Sec	.06	.58	1.06	.91	.52	.84	1.69	.53	.07	1.53	1.07	.97
Ed	.23	.18	1.25	.21	.44	.22	1.55	.05*	.51	.23	1.66	.03*
Age					-.10	.17	.54	.90	-.10	.17	.90	.56
Prov-N							.34					.58
-E					-.26	.82	.75	.77	-.20	.87	.82	.82
-C					-1.24	.74	.09	.29	-1.29	.84	.28	.12
-W					-.15	1.14	.90	.86	-.80	1.33	.45	.55
-O					-1.81	1.13	.11	.16	-1.55	1.40	.21	.27
Loc					-.20	.41	.62	.82	-.20	.45	.82	.66
Mbrs									.21	.38	1.23	.59
Eth-S												.99
-T									-.10	.88	.90	.91
-B									.30	1.31	1.35	.82
-O									-.20	.93	.82	.83
Tests of model fit												
OS	.10				.08				.21			
R^2	.14				.24				.25			
HL	.05				.90				.24			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-7: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Facilitating Understanding (May 2009–May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.19	.07	.82	<.01**	-.16	.08	.85	.04*	-.19	.08	.83	.02*
ftr	-.04	.05	.96	.37	-.05	.05	.95	.36	-.02	.06	.98	.72
xenos	.15	.07	1.16	.04*	.13	.08	1.14	.10	.18	.09	1.20	.03
CH	-.03	.04	.97	.49	-.02	.04	.98	.73	<.01	.05	1.00	.95
RS-Sr				.20				.74				.65
-Friar	-.21	.57	.81	.72	-.21	.76	.81	.78	.08	.89	1.08	.93
-Sec	.96	.60	2.62	.11	.56	.82	1.75	.50	1.33	1.47	3.77	.37
Ed	.28	.18	1.32	.13	.30	.21	1.34	.16	.38	.22	1.46	.09
Age					-.10	.17	-.10	.53	-.25	.18	.78	.18
Prov-N								.45				.64
-E					1.38	.84	1.38	.10	1.32	.93	3.75	.15
-C					-.13	.69	-.13	.85	.33	.79	1.39	.68
-W					.52	1.02	.52	.61	-.05	1.21	.95	.96
-O					-.50	1.26	-.50	.69	-.19	1.51	.83	.90
Loc					.47	.39	.47	.23	.92	.47	2.51	.05*
Mbrs									-.47	.38	.63	.21
Eth-S												.40
-T									1.25	.92	3.47	.17
-B									1.34	1.34	3.80	.32
-O									-.33	.99	.72	.74
Tests of model fit												
OS	.10				.21				.13			
R^2	.14				.20				.28			
HL	.82				.85				.12			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-8: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Facilitating Understanding (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.03	.08	.97	.65	-.05	.09	.96	.60				
ftr	-.04	.06	.96	.50	-.06	.07	.94	.42				
xenos	.31	.10	1.37	<.01**	.32	.11	1.38	<.01**				
CH	.02	.05	1.02	.73	.02	.05	1.02	.70				
RS-Sr				.02*				.07				
-Friar	1.34	.64	3.83	.04	1.53	.90	4.63	.09				
-Sec	-.75	.79	.47	.34	-1.84	1.34	.16	.17				
Ed	-.06	.20	.94	.75	<.01	.23	1.00	1.00				
Age					-.12	.21	.89	.57				
Prov-N								.62				
-E					-.79	1.03	.45	.44				
-C					-1.33	1.00	.27	.18				
-W					-.11	1.30	.89	.93				
-O					-.05	1.14	.96	.97				
Loc					.44	.57	1.56	.44				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	<.01				.02				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.29				.32							
HL	.97				.50							
N	110				104							

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-9: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Nonviolent Action (May 2009–May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.16	.08	.85	.04*	-.19	.10	.83	.05*				
ftr	.10	.08	1.11	.22	.11	.08	1.12	.17				
xenos	.24	.10	1.27	.02*	.27	.11	1.31	.02*				
CH	-.02	.05	.98	.65	-.01	.06	.99	.90				
RS-Sr				.79				.81				
-Friar	-.24	.73	.79	.74	-.65	1.01	.52	.52				
-Sec	.35	.77	1.42	.65	-.19	1.06	.83	.86				
Ed	.10	.21	1.10	.64	.04	.23	1.04	.88				
Age					.11	.21	1.12	.59				
Prov-N								.78				
-E					-.25	1.13	.78	.83				
-C					.92	.90	2.51	.31				
-W					-.32	1.45	.72	.82				
-O					.30	1.42	1.35	.83				
Loc					.59	.50	1.80	.24				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	.11				.28				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.17				.22							
HL	.03				.12							
N	110				104							

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-10: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Nonviolent Action (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.09	.06	.91	.14	-.09	.08	.92	.29	-.20	.11	.82	.08
ftr	-.04	.05	.96	.43	-.08	.06	.93	.21	-.10	.07	.91	.17
xenos	.15	.08	1.16	.05*	.19	.10	1.21	.05*	.38	.13	1.46	<.01**
CH	.04	.04	1.05	.29	.07	.05	1.07	.20	.13	.07	1.14	.05*
RS-Sr				.78				.90				.63
-Friar	.11	.57	1.11	.85	-.16	.83	.86	.85	-1.08	1.12	.34	.33
-Sec	-.42	.69	.66	.54	-.44	1.00	.65	.66	-.54	1.82	.58	.77
Ed	.14	.18	1.15	.43	.21	.22	1.23	.35	.28	.26	1.32	.28
Age					-.36	.21	.70	.09	-.73	.31	.48	.02*
Prov-N								.10				.17
-E					1.67	.88	5.31	.06	2.52	1.14	12.49	.03*
-C					-.71	.85	.49	.40	-.03	1.13	.97	.98
-W					1.54	1.17	4.68	.19	1.42	1.61	4.12	.38
-O					.53	1.08	1.69	.63	2.91	1.74	18.36	.09
Loc					.17	.48	1.18	.73	.52	.61	1.69	.39
Mbrs									-.14	.44	.87	.76
Eth-S												.03
-T									4.28	1.46	72.38	<.01**
-B									3.58	1.98	35.77	.07
-O									3.91	1.47	50.02	.01**
Tests of model fit												
OS	.10				.02				<.01			
R^2	.15				.32				.47			
HL	.97				.84				.74			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-11: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Dialogue with Other Religions (Pre-May 2009) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.26	.08	.77	<.01**	-.29	.10	.75	<.01**	-.30	.11	.74	<.01**
ftr	.09	.07	1.10	.18	.13	.08	1.14	.11	.12	.08	1.13	.13
xenos	.15	.09	1.16	.09	.13	.10	1.14	.19	.15	.11	1.17	.16
CH	-.10	.05	.90	.03*	-.06	.05	.95	.31	-.06	.06	.94	.30
RS-Sr				.10				.24				.13
-Friar	.24	.65	1.27	.72	1.64	.97	5.18	.09	1.99	1.06	7.29	.06
-Sec	1.55	.72	4.72	.03*	.14	1.13	1.15	.90	-1.14	2.01	.32	.57
Ed	.49	.22	1.63	.03*	.53	.26	1.70	.04*	.66	.30	1.94	.03*
Age					.27	.20	1.31	.18	.24	.21	1.27	.26
Prov-N								.27				.34
-E					-1.26	1.03	.28	.22	-1.06	1.11	.35	.34
-C					-1.98	.98	.14	.04*	-2.32	1.17	.10	.05*
-W					-2.70	1.63	.07	.10	-2.97	1.74	.05	.09
-O					-2.11	1.84	.12	.25	-.99	1.91	.37	.60
Loc					.68	.52	1.98	.19	1.15	.67	3.17	.09
Mbrs									.23	.45	1.26	.61
Eth-S												.35
-T									.22	1.13	1.25	.84
-B									1.19	1.69	3.29	.48
-O									-2.03	1.30	.13	.12
Tests of model fit												
OS	<.01				<.01				<.01			
R^2	.31				.39				.41			
HL	.53				.29				.88			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-12: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Dialogue with Other Religions (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.01	.06	.99	.86	-.02	.07	.98	.81	.07	.09	1.07	.44
ftr	-.01	.05	.99	.84	-.02	.06	.98	.68	-.05	.06	.95	.43
xenos	.15	.07	1.16	.05*	.16	.09	1.18	.05*	.22	.10	1.25	.03*
CH	.03	.04	1.03	.48	.05	.05	1.05	.30	.11	.06	1.12	.05*
RS-Sr				.41				.31				.05*
-Friar	-.11	.55	.90	.84	-.38	.75	.68	.61	-.55	.92	.58	.55
-Sec	-.84	.63	.43	.19	-1.37	.91	.25	.13	-4.30	1.78	.01	.02*
Ed	.17	.17	1.19	.32	.20	.19	1.22	.31	.24	.22	1.27	.27
Age					-.20	.18	.81	.24	-.35	.20	.71	.08
Prov-N								.78				.29
-E					.51	.81	1.67	.53	1.29	.93	3.62	.16
-C					-.49	.74	.61	.51	.55	.92	1.74	.55
-W					.16	1.11	1.17	.89	1.38	1.41	3.96	.33
-O					.55	1.06	1.74	.60	3.34	1.61	28.23	.04*
Loc					.38	.43	1.46	.38	1.19	.59	3.28	.04*
Mbrs									.38	.40	1.47	.34
Eth-S												.03
-T									3.23	1.10	25.39	<.01**
-B									-.15	1.68	.86	.93
-O									.19	.93	1.21	.84
Tests of model fit												
OS	.04				.13				.01			
R^2	.17				.22				.37			
HL	.33				.66				.96			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-13: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Dialogue with Other Christians (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.05	.06	.95	.40	-.08	.08	.92	.30	-.07	.09	.93	.39
ftr	-.07	.05	.94	.20	-.09	.06	.91	.13	-.09	.06	.92	.15
xenos	.15	.07	1.17	.03*	.18	.09	1.20	.04*	.19	.09	1.21	.03*
CH	.01	.04	1.01	.80	.03	.05	1.03	.48	.04	.05	1.05	.38
RS-Sr				.29				.37				.60
-Friar	-.29	.56	.74	.60	-.48	.77	.62	.53	-.27	.86	.76	.76
-Sec	.75	.58	2.12	.20	1.01	.89	2.75	.25	1.22	1.52	3.40	.42
Ed	.21	.17	1.23	.23	.41	.22	1.50	.06	.40	.23	1.50	.08
Age					-.24	.17	.79	.17	-.32	.19	.73	.09
Prov-N								.16				.23
-E					1.61	.88	4.99	.07	1.66	.93	5.27	.07
-C					-.53	.73	.59	.46	-.32	.81	.72	.69
-W					-1.38	1.21	.25	.25	-1.17	1.30	.31	.37
-O					.01	1.09	1.01	.99	.39	1.36	1.47	.78
Loc					.18	.43	1.20	.67	.30	.48	1.34	.54
Mbrs									-.17	.36	.84	.63
Eth-S												.53
-T									1.18	.92	3.26	.20
-B									1.61	1.38	4.98	.25
-O									.83	.92	2.30	.37
Tests of model fit												
OS	.21				.12				.23			
R^2	.11				.23				.25			
HL	.74				.80				.61			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-14: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Liturgical Activities (Pre-May 2009) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.15	.06	.86	.02*	-.12	.07	.88	.09	-.14	.09	.87	.13
ftr	.02	.05	1.02	.69	.03	.06	1.03	.59	.04	.06	1.04	.59
xenos	.11	.07	1.11	.13	.09	.08	1.09	.26	.08	.09	1.08	.39
CH	-.05	.04	.95	.24	-.02	.05	.98	.69	-.03	.05	.97	.51
RS-Sr				.22				.41				.11
-Friar	.22	.57	1.24	.70	.98	.81	2.66	.23	2.08	1.06	8.03	.05*
-Sec	1.04	.60	2.84	.08	-.40	.91	.67	.66	-1.02	1.64	.36	.54
Ed	<.01	.18	1.00	.99	-.08	.20	.92	.69	-.11	.24	.90	.64
Age					.14	.17	1.16	.39	.08	.19	1.08	.69
Prov-N								.48				.25
-E					-1.08	.87	.34	.21	-1.62	1.03	.20	.12
-C					-1.26	.78	.28	.11	-2.54	1.20	.08	.03*
-W					-.50	1.07	.61	.64	-.79	1.40	.46	.57
-O					-1.11	1.33	.33	.40	-1.90	1.65	.15	.25
Loc					.58	.43	1.79	.17	1.06	.54	2.88	.05*
Mbrs									-.08	.39	.92	.84
Eth-S												.03
-T									-1.60	1.02	.20	.12
-B									.12	1.42	1.13	.93
-O									-4.73	1.68	.01	<.01**
Tests of model fit												
OS	.22				.40				.04			
R^2	.12				.17				.33			
HL	.74				.91				.08			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-15: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Liturgical Activities (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	.02	.06	1.02	.81	.01	.08	1.01	.89	-.03	.09	.97	.71
ftr	.07	.06	1.07	.25	.08	.06	1.08	.19	.11	.07	1.11	.12
xenos	.17	.08	1.19	.03*	.19	.10	1.21	.05*	.26	.11	1.29	.02*
CH	.05	.04	1.05	.26	.09	.05	1.09	.06	.07	.05	1.07	.20
RS-Sr				.14				.03*				.23
-Friar	.38	.56	1.46	.50	.63	.80	1.88	.43	.83	.91	2.29	.36
-Sec	-.97	.65	.38	.13	-2.80	1.11	.06	.01**	-1.85	1.71	.16	.28
Ed	.08	.18	1.08	.65	.20	.21	1.22	.32	.26	.21	1.29	.23
Age					-.26	.19	.77	.17	-.37	.20	.69	.07
Prov-N								.43				.70
-E					-.38	.89	.68	.67	-.63	.96	.53	.51
-C					-1.69	.92	.18	.06	-1.04	.99	.35	.29
-W					-1.29	1.23	.27	.29	-1.79	1.36	.17	.19
-O					-1.27	1.13	.28	.26	-1.23	1.40	.29	.38
Loc					1.10	.51	3.01	.03*	1.39	.57	4.02	.01**
Mbrs									-.49	.41	.61	.23
Eth-S												.67
-T									.68	.92	1.97	.46
-B									.88	1.53	2.41	.56
-O									-.49	.94	.61	.60
Tests of model fit												
OS	<.01				<.01				.02			
R^2	.26				.33				.37			
HL	.77				.12				.18			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-16: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Spiritual Activities (Pre-May 2009) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.13	.06	.88	.04*	-.11	.07	.89	.12	-.22	.09	.80	.02*
ftr	.03	.05	1.03	.50	.03	.05	1.03	.55	.04	.06	1.04	.55
xenos	.08	.07	1.08	.27	.07	.08	1.07	.35	.11	.09	1.11	.22
CH	.06	.04	1.06	.12	.09	.05	1.09	.06	.08	.05	1.08	.11
RS-Sr				.14				.16				.23
-Friar	.20	.54	1.22	.72	1.61	.85	5.03	.06	1.52	.94	4.59	.10
-Sec	1.15	.59	3.15	.05*	.55	.86	1.74	.52	-.31	1.60	.73	.85
Ed	-.03	.17	.98	.88	-.03	.20	.97	.89	.05	.22	1.05	.83
Age					.33	.17	1.39	.05*	.37	.18	1.45	.04*
Prov-N								.23				.15
-E					.27	.83	1.31	.75	.11	.97	1.12	.91
-C					-1.54	.74	.21	.04*	-2.14	.96	.12	.03*
-W					-1.06	1.05	.35	.31	-2.52	1.41	.08	.07
-O					-.93	1.21	.39	.44	-1.04	1.50	.35	.49
Loc					.26	.42	1.30	.53	.46	.49	1.58	.35
Mbrs									.32	.39	1.38	.41
Eth-S												.15
-T									-1.23	.97	.29	.20
-B									-.31	1.43	.74	.83
-O									-2.62	1.18	.07	.03*
Tests of model fit												
OS	.18				.11				.03			
R^2	.12				.23				.33			
HL	.54				.07				.28			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-17: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Spiritual Activities (May 2009–May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.22	.07	.80	<.01**	-.22	.08	.80	.01**				
ftr	.01	.05	1.01	.89	<.01	.05	1.00	1.00				
xenos	.14	.08	1.15	.08	.13	.08	1.14	.12				
CH	.02	.04	1.02	.62	.03	.04	1.03	.51				
RS-Sr				.16				.32				
-Friar	-.51	.58	.60	.39	-.61	.78	.54	.43				
-Sec	-1.59	.87	.20	.07	-1.44	1.07	.24	.18				
Ed	.20	.19	1.23	.30	.15	.21	1.16	.49				
Age					-.12	.18	.89	.50				
Prov-N								.86				
-E					.68	.86	1.97	.43				
-C					.06	.72	1.06	.94				
-W					-.02	1.10	.98	.99				
-O					.89	1.09	2.44	.41				
Loc					-.03	.43	.97	.94				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	<.01				<.01				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.32				.34							
HL	.54				.93							
N	110				104							

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Table 5-18: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Spiritual Activities (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Religious Schema Subscales, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
ttt	-.08	.07	.92	.27	-.10	.09	.91	.27	-.18	.11	.84	.11
ftr	.03	.06	1.03	.64	.02	.06	1.02	.71	.05	.07	1.05	.44
xenos	.28	.08	1.33	<.01**	.31	.10	1.37	<.01**	.39	.11	1.47	<.01**
CH	.09	.05	1.09	.05	.09	.05	1.09	.08	.08	.06	1.08	.16
RS-Sr				.45				.79				.29
-Friar	.34	.60	1.41	.57	-.55	.82	.58	.50	-.13	.99	.88	.89
-Sec	-.54	.65	.58	.41	.03	.89	1.03	.97	2.65	1.89	14.10	.16
Ed	.07	.19	1.08	.70	.12	.21	1.13	.56	.13	.24	1.13	.59
Age					-.37	.19	.69	.06	-.45	.22	.63	.04*
Prov-N								.82				.41
-E					.93	.91	2.53	.31	.17	1.04	1.19	.87
-C					.54	.75	1.72	.47	.54	.87	1.71	.54
-W					.36	1.28	1.43	.78	-1.71	1.75	.18	.33
-O					-.22	1.09	.80	.84	-1.91	1.52	.15	.21
Loc					-.34	.43	.71	.43	-.51	.53	.60	.33
Mbrs									-.81	.48	.44	.09
Eth-S												.62
-T									-.64	1.00	.53	.52
-B									1.67	2.02	5.31	.41
-O									.07	1.02	1.08	.94
Tests of model fit												
OS	<.01				<.01				<.01			
R^2	.34				.38				.47			
HL	.28				.98				.96			
N	110				104				102			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338)

Appendix 6 Franciscan Websites: Community Values

Table 6-1: Extracts from Official Franciscan Websites Arranged by Community Value Themes

Characteristic	*Extract*
In response to a religious calling.	We are an evangelical brotherhood. Jesus of Nazareth is our guide for a simple and humble life among the people. The life of Christ, Holy Scriptures, St. Francis and his writings give us inspiration (Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum. Curia Generalis [2013?]).[164]
	The profession of the Rule of St. Francis and of the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience bind us together in fraternity (Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum. Curia Generalis 2013a).[165]
	Answering the same call, we live with the sisters God gives us; … our community is a place of mutual conversion and is built up in faith around Christ, Word and Bread (Constitutions 6, 21. Quoted in Franciscan Missionaries of Mary 2009c).
Many aspects of daily life in common	In practice, the local fraternal life consists of prayer in common, meals in common as well as sharing the necessary community responsibilities and with an outreach to the neighbouring people as well (Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum. Curia Generalis 2013b).[166]
	The friars here cook their own food, wash their own laundry and dishes. They clean the house and backyard. They eat together and share the same food prepared and set on the table. They all treat each other equally and fraternally as brothers regardless of their status as a priest, lay brother or formant [i.e. a new member who is in the stage of formation] (Order of Friars Minor. Foundation of Blessed Joseph Vaz 2008).
Characteristics of familial, rather than institutional, living	To preserve the fraternal climate and to avoid bureaucratic anonymity, a bigger province may choose to divide itself into smaller ones adapted to familial sharing (Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum. Curia Generalis 2013a).[167]
	Living in small communities we adapt our lifestyle to that of the people among whom we live and so are in solidarity with them. (Sisters of the Holy Cross (Menzingen) 2011b).

164. The English texts from the multi-lingual international Capuchin website www.ofmcap.org were unavailable at the time of editing. The Italian texts which occupy the English section of the website are given in footnotes; the English translation is adapted from equivalent texts in a previous version formerly at www.ofmcap.net. Original text for this quotation: "Siamo una fraternità evangelica. Gesù di Nazaret è la nostra guida per condurre una vita semplice e umile in mezzo al popolo. La vita di Cristo, la sacra Scrittura, san Francesco e i suoi scritti costituiscono la nostra ispirazione."
165. Original text: "È la professione della Regola di san Francesco e dei voti di povertà, castità e obbedienza che ci riuniscono in fraternità."
166. Original text: "La fraternità locale pratica la preghiera comune, mangia alla stessa tavola e condivide gli impegni necessari alla vita comune come pure i servizi che presta alla popolazione vicina."
167. Original text: "Per preservare il clima fraterno ed evitare l'anonimato burocratico, una provincia molto grande può scegliere di articolarsi in regioni più piccole e quindi più adatte ad una condivisione familiar."

Brings together people of differing character, nationality, etc.	Unity is reinforced by meeting among sisters in a plurality of cultures and lifestyles. In togetherness, God makes us grow in truth and charity (Constitutions 6, 21. Quoted in Franciscan Missionaries of Mary 2009c).
	The face of our fraternal communities—like a rainbow—was composed of sisters from different peoples, nations, languages and cultures who welcomed one another as a gift from God (Franciscan Missionaries of Mary 2009c).
Has an outward focus and purpose.	Promotion of unity and harmony among the people of Sri Lanka is one of the most important needs of our country. This has to begin wherever we are, i.e. in our own communities and neighbourhood. It is from here that reconciliation can radiate to the warring factions of society (Sisters of the Holy Cross (Menzingen) 2011b).
	Fraternal help, community of goods and sharing with the local people are essential aspects of fraternal life (Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum. Curia Generalis 2013b).[168]

168. Original text: “L'aiuto fraterno, la comunanza dei beni e la condivisione con la gente vicina sono aspetti essenziali della vita in fraternità.”

Appendix 7 Regression Tables for Chapter 7

Logistic Regression Analysis by Form of Peacemaking regressed on Community Health and Life

Table 7-1: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Acting as Intermediary (May 2009 to May 2013) regressed on Community Health and Life, controlling for religious variables (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
CH	.04	.05	1.04	.38								
CL1	.67	.32	1.96	.03*								
CL2	-.32	.21	.73	.12								
CL3	-.10	.21	.91	.64								
CL4	-1.01	.43	.37	.02*								
ttt	-.14	.07	.87	.05*								
ftr	.00	.06	1.00	.98								
xenos	.13	.10	1.14	.19								
RS	-.43	.58	.65	.46								
Ed	.16	.21	1.17	.44								
Age												
Prov-N												
-E												
-C												
-W												
-O												
Loc												
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	.08				*No stable solution*				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.26											
HL	.91											
n	79											

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of: CL1-CL4 = Community Life questions.

Table 7-2: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Acting as Intermediary (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Community Health and Life, controlling for religious variables (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
CH	.06	.05	1.06	.27	.07	.06	1.07	.28	.18	.11	1.20	.10
CL1	-.43	.31	.65	.16	-.56	.38	.57	.15	-1.62	.72	.20	.02*
CL2	-.02	.23	.98	.92	.18	.26	1.19	.50	.53	.53	1.70	.32
CL3	.08	.23	1.08	.74	.14	.27	1.15	.62	.04	.47	1.04	.94
CL4	1.09	.52	2.98	.04*	1.10	.57	3.01	.05*	2.86	1.07	17.52	.01**
ttt	-.11	.08	.90	.18	-.18	.11	.84	.12	-.74	.30	.48	.01**
ftr	-.05	.07	.95	.42	-.06	.08	.94	.43	-.08	.13	.92	.52
xenos	.15	.11	1.16	.16	.34	.16	1.40	.03*	1.17	.42	3.22	.01**
RS	.52	.67	1.68	.44	1.01	1.11	2.74	.36	-.67	1.88	.51	.72
Ed	.03	.21	1.03	.90	.08	.28	1.08	.79	.68	.49	1.97	.16
Age					-.33	.25	.72	.19	-1.13	.55	.32	.04*
Prov-N					.00	.00	.00	.31	.00	.00	.00	.18
-E					-.49	1.08	.61	.65	-.27	2.18	.76	.90
-C					-2.18	1.11	.11	.05*	-4.64	2.01	.01	.02*
-W					-1.21	1.64	.30	.46	-7.07	3.94	.00	.07
-O					-2.06	1.43	.13	.15	-.31	2.68	.73	.91
Loc					-.22	.70	.81	.76	.02	1.10	1.02	.98
Mbrs									1.36	.77	3.91	.08
Eth-S									.00	.00	.00	.09
-T									3.10	1.97	22.29	.12
-B									7.95	3.30	2838.16	.02*
-O									.29	1.46	1.33	.84
Tests of model fit												
OS	.05				.02				<.01			
R^2	.29				.45				.71			
HL	.13				.60				.65			
n	79				74				72			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of CL1-CL4 = Community Life questions.

Table 7-3: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Acting as Observer (Pre May 2009) regressed on Community Health and Life, controlling for religious variables (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
CH	-.02	.06	.98	.73	-.04	.07	.96	.58				
CL1	.90	.45	2.46	.05*	1.05	.52	2.85	.05*				
CL2	.07	.27	1.07	.80	.17	.30	1.18	.58				
CL3	-.19	.25	.83	.44	-.10	.28	.91	.73				
CL4	-.63	.51	.53	.22	-.92	.61	.40	.13				
ttt	-.11	.09	.90	.21	-.12	.11	.89	.29				
ftr	.08	.08	1.08	.30	.06	.08	1.06	.46				
xenos	-.06	.12	.94	.64	.02	.16	1.02	.91				
RS	.94	.77	2.56	.22	.70	1.16	2.01	.55				
Ed	-.49	.32	.62	.12	-.56	.35	.57	.11				
Age					.19	.26	1.21	.46				
Prov-N					.00	.00	.00	.74				
-E					.53	1.13	1.71	.64				
-C					.99	1.23	2.69	.42				
-W					-.39	1.94	.68	.84				
-O					1.81	1.63	6.12	.27				
Loc					.33	.62	1.39	.60				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	.11				.32				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.29				.35							
HL	.62				.72							
n	79				74							

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of CL1-CL4 = Community Life questions.

Table 7-4: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Acting as Observer (May 2009 to May 2013) regressed on Community Health and Life, controlling for religious variables (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
CH	.03	.06	1.03	.57								
CL1	.62	.36	1.85	.09								
CL2	-.06	.22	.94	.77								
CL3	-.08	.24	.92	.74								
CL4	-.93	.47	.39	.04*								
ttt	-.13	.07	.88	.09								
ftr	.01	.07	1.01	.89								
xenos	.18	.12	1.20	.12								
RS	.11	.66	1.12	.86								
Ed	-.06	.23	.94	.79								
Age												
Prov-N												
-E												
-C												
-W												
-O												
Loc												
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	.31				*No stable solution*				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.20											
HL	.03											
n	79											

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of CL1-CL4 = Community Life questions.

Table 7-5: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Facilitating Understanding (May 2009 to May 2013)regressed on Community Health and Life, controlling for religious variables (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
CH	.06	.06	1.07	.27	.07	.06	1.07	.26				
CL1	-.21	.32	.82	.52	-.28	.36	.76	.44				
CL2	-.42	.25	.66	.09	-.44	.27	.64	.10				
CL3	-.57	.24	.56	.02*	-.68	.28	.51	.02*				
CL4	-.85	.44	.43	.05*	-.98	.49	.38	.05*				
ttt	-.26	.08	.77	<.01**	-.19	.09	.82	.04*				
ftr	-.08	.06	.93	.24	-.07	.07	.94	.32				
xenos	.28	.13	1.33	.03*	.26	.15	1.29	.08				
RS	-.54	.64	.58	.39	-.81	.98	.45	.41				
Ed	.39	.23	1.48	.08	.39	.28	1.48	.15				
Age					-.01	.21	.99	.96				
Prov-N					.00	.00	.00	.08				
-E					2.83	1.11	16.97	.01**				
-C					1.32	1.00	3.73	.19				
-W					2.54	1.53	12.67	.10				
-O					-.59	1.41	.55	.68				
Loc					-.44	.58	.64	.45				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	.01				.02				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.36				.46							
HL	.48				.17							
n	79				74							

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of CL1-CL4 = Community Life questions.

Table 7-6: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Dialogue with Other Religions (pre May 2009)regressed on Community Health and Life, controlling for religious variables (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
CH	-.07	.06	.93	.29	-.07	.08	.94	.41				
CL1	.47	.39	1.59	.24	.76	.50	2.13	.13				
CL2	-.42	.33	.66	.20	-.65	.42	.52	.12				
CL3	.35	.29	1.42	.23	.63	.41	1.87	.13				
CL4	-1.26	.59	.28	.03*	-1.60	.78	.20	.04*				
ttt	-.30	.10	.74	<.01**	-.37	.15	.69	.02*				
ftr	.14	.10	1.15	.15	.18	.12	1.20	.12				
xenos	.17	.14	1.19	.23	.23	.17	1.26	.18				
RS	-.10	.75	.91	.90	1.51	1.24	4.53	.22				
Ed	1.09	.36	2.98	<.01**	1.21	.50	3.37	.01**				
Age					.54	.31	1.71	.08				
Prov-N					.00	.00	.00	.40				
-E					-1.67	1.33	.19	.21				
-C					-1.91	1.27	.15	.13				
-W					-4.27	2.43	.01	.08				
-O					-2.24	2.17	.11	.30				
Loc					.95	.85	2.60	.26				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	<.01				<.01				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.53				.61							
HL	.83				.68							
n	79				74							

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of CL1-CL4 = Community Life questions.

Table 7-7: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Dialogue with Other Religions (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Community Health and Life, controlling for religious variables (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
CH	.09	.06	1.10	.10	.15	.07	1.16	.03*	.24	.09	1.27	.01**
CL1	-.25	.29	.78	.38	-.44	.37	.65	.23	-.43	.43	.65	.31
CL2	-.50	.22	.61	.03*	-.53	.25	.59	.04*	-.47	.35	.62	.18
CL3	-.28	.21	.75	.18	-.34	.26	.71	.18	-.60	.35	.55	.09
CL4	-.53	.42	.59	.21	-.36	.48	.70	.46	-.40	.59	.67	.50
ttt	-.05	.07	.95	.50	-.08	.09	.93	.39	.02	.11	1.02	.89
ftr	-.06	.06	.94	.35	-.06	.07	.94	.34	-.11	.09	.90	.22
xenos	.24	.11	1.28	.02*	.33	.15	1.39	.03*	.43	.17	1.54	.01**
RS	-.33	.58	.72	.56	.03	.89	1.03	.97	-.14	1.09	.87	.90
Ed	.03	.21	1.03	.89	.10	.26	1.10	.71	.26	.32	1.30	.41
Age					-.29	.23	.75	.20	-.50	.26	.61	.06
Prov-N					.00	.00	.00	.19	.00	.00	.00	.15
-E					.03	.95	1.03	.98	.92	1.17	2.51	.43
-C					-2.55	1.16	.08	.03*	-2.28	1.46	.10	.12
-W					-.99	1.50	.37	.51	-.08	1.59	.92	.96
-O					-.17	1.12	.85	.88	3.07	1.85	21.55	.10
Loc					1.36	.66	3.88	.04*	2.43	.87	11.32	.01**
Mbrs									.80	.49	2.22	.10
Eth-S									.00	.00	.00	.07
-T									3.10	1.34	22.30	.02*
-B									-.05	2.08	.95	.98
-O									-.93	1.18	.39	.43
Tests of model fit												
OS	.06				.05				.01			
R^2	.27				.40				.53			
HL	.55				.13				.80			
n	79				74				72			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of CL1-CL4 = Community Life questions.

Table 7-8: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Liturgical Activities (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Community Health and Life, controlling for religious variables (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
CH	.11	.06	1.12	.05*	.16	.07	1.17	.02*	.13	.07	1.14	.08
CL1	-.06	.28	.94	.82	-.22	.33	.80	.49	-.31	.36	.73	.39
CL2	-.42	.22	.66	.06	-.55	.24	.57	.02*	-.77	.31	.46	.01**
CL3	-.01	.22	.99	.96	-.02	.24	.98	.95	.11	.28	1.12	.69
CL4	-.66	.43	.52	.12	-.59	.48	.55	.22	-.45	.54	.64	.41
ttt	.01	.07	1.01	.86	.00	.09	1.00	1.00	-.06	.11	.94	.55
ftr	.02	.06	1.02	.81	.03	.07	1.03	.67	.05	.08	1.05	.53
xenos	.21	.10	1.23	.05*	.25	.14	1.28	.08	.34	.15	1.40	.03*
RS	.24	.58	1.27	.68	.27	.90	1.31	.76	.02	1.09	1.02	.98
Ed	.06	.21	1.07	.76	.17	.25	1.19	.50	.27	.29	1.31	.34
Age					-.29	.23	.75	.19	-.46	.26	.63	.08
Prov-N					.00	.00	.00	.59	.00	.00	.00	.74
-E					-.18	.93	.84	.85	-.41	1.04	.66	.69
-C					-1.50	1.06	.22	.16	-.21	1.27	.81	.87
-W					-1.05	1.51	.35	.49	-2.32	1.86	.10	.21
-O					-1.41	1.15	.24	.22	-1.22	1.59	.29	.44
Loc					1.14	.61	3.13	.06	1.79	.74	6.00	.02*
Mbrs									-.69	.51	.50	.17
Eth-S									.00	.00	.00	.58
-T									.86	1.20	2.36	.47
-B									-2.09	1.91	.12	.27
-O									-.28	1.09	.75	.80
Tests of model fit												
OS	.03				.07				.06			
R^2	.30				.38				.46			
HL	.55				.23				.14			
n	79				74				72			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of CL1-CL4 = Community Life questions.

Appendix 8 Franciscan Websites: Franciscan Identity

The following extracts from the official websites of each of the congregations who participated in this study are selected to illustrate their understanding of their Franciscan identity. Themes developed from these are in Table 8-1 below.

1. Order of Friars Minor

The Order of Friars Minor, founded by St. Francis of Assisi, is a fraternity. In this fraternity the friars follow Jesus Christ more closely under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; through profession they dedicate themselves totally to God whom they love above all, living the Gospel in the Church according to the form observed and proposed by St. Francis. The friars, as followers of St. Francis, are bound to lead a radically evangelical life, namely: to live in a spirit of prayer and devotion and in fraternal fellowship; they are to offer a witness of penance and minority; and, in charity towards all mankind, they are to announce the Gospel throughout the whole world and to preach reconciliation, peace and justice by their deeds; and to show respect for creation (Order of Friars Minor n.d.).

2. Order of Friars Minor Capuchin

The Capuchins are the youngest branch, going back to 1525, when some Friars Minor in the Marches wanted to live a stricter life of prayer and poverty to be closer to the original intentions of St. Francis. … Simplicity, closeness to the people, a fraternal spirit in our houses and our apostolate are visible signs that mark our lifestyle, while the emphasis on penance and prayer in the life of the first Capuchins needs to be revived (Order of Friars Minor Capuchin 2014).

3. Order of Friars Minor Conventual

We are founded by St. Francis of Assisi in 1209. Inspired by his ideals of fraternity and minority, we soon began to live in larger communities or "convents" … [We] dedicated [ourselves] to apostolic work, promoted centers of studies and did not participate the reform movements within the Franciscan Order. … [We] are called by the spirit to serve the Church and humanity in various forms of ministries by living our Franciscan Charism with its characteristics of Fraternity, Minority and Conventuality. … What makes the Franciscan priest unique is the spirit of Saint Francis he brings to his priesthood. This is evident in the manner in which he greets people, the style of his preaching, and the simplicity of his life. His priesthood becomes fashioned by his prayer and by the fellow Franciscans with whom he lives. Community life allows him the fraternal support and the connectedness to the human condition that broadens his perspective. Through the Incarnation, Jesus entered the world in the flesh, not to be served but to serve. Franciscan spirituality views the world and ministry in these incarnational terms. In the same way, the Franciscan priest preaches and ministers in concrete, human ways and attempts to bring God to others sacramentally, personally and through the Word of God (Order of Friars Minor Conventual. St Maximilian Kolbe Province).

4. Third Order Regular of St Francis

The apostolic activities ministered by the Regular Third Order are many: pastoral care within the parishes, acts of kindness for the needy, schools for the

young, teaching and preaching, and missionary work. But the main apostolic aim is to live the gift of a consecrated life as a continual offering upon the altar of the world, for and to the glory of God, and the salvation of our fellow men (Third Order Regular of St Francis of Assisi).

The traditional spirituality of the Regular Third Order derives from the Franciscan Penitence Movement and can be synthesized in the following theoretical-practical definition: the duty of constant conversion to a living God in the biblical sense, and to perform acts of kindness according to time and place (Third Order Regular of St Francis of Assisi).

5. Congregation of the Missionary Brothers of St Francis of Assisi

Francis of Assisi is revered as the Patron and Model of Religious Brothers. It is because he had a vision of Universal Brotherhood of all human beings. This would mean that, as children of God we all belong to the one large family of God. As created by God in his image, every human being shares in the divine dignity. There is no room for any division based on race, color, caste, nationality, community or whatever. We form one human family. My dignity as a human person derives from my belonging to this human family. In fact, Francis' vision of Brotherhood goes far beyond. For him the whole of cosmos is bound together in a fraternal bond. So he could speak of Brother Sun, and Sister Moon, Brother Fire and Sister Water and Sister Mother Earth. Saint Francis of Assisi has a powerful message for the men and women of today: humans are not to dominate or exploit God's creation; rather they are to befriend it, respect and protect it. This alone will ensure harmony and peace in the created order. (Congregation of the Missionary Brothers of Saint Francis of Assisi 2011a). … [Our congregation] follows the ideals and spirituality of Saint Francis of Assisi. Francis of Assisi was someone who lived the truth of the Gospels in a radical, revolutionary and uncompromising way. His life has inspired thousands of people all over the world, some for the radical simplicity of it, some for the mystical holiness of it and some for the lyrical beauty of his love for nature and all that is in and around us. There is one thing common in all of them—what we call the Franciscan Spirit or Franciscan Charism. The same spirit and charism do operate in the lives and activities of the Brothers. The vitality of the Spirit is evident from the various pioneering activities the Brothers have initiated during the past several decades (Congregation of the Missionary Brothers of Saint Francis of Assisi 2011b).

6. Franciscan Missionaries of Mary

Today, almost 6500 Franciscan Missionaries of Mary from 79 nationalities, open to Universal Mission, like Francis, travel up and down the roads of 75 countries, throughout the five continents. Today—like Yesterday—the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary live Love and express it in multiple ways: it is called strength of life, newness of the Gospel, passion, daring, risk, commitment for justice.

It becomes a face, a word, a meeting, a dialogue, a presence, an outstretched hand. It is interrogation, questioning, risk and choice, peace and reconciliation, offering and gift, consecration and prayer, new life and hope (Franciscan Missionaries of Mary 2009a).

7. Capuchin Tertiary Sisters of the Holy Family

As a religious family we strongly experience that the Spirit of the Lord summons us to be with Him and to live His own style of life in order to serve our brothers and sisters in the midst of the world. To follow Jesus Christ as minor sisters, in the style of Francis of Assisi, who considered himself the last one among his brothers and the servant of all: his is our peculiar characteristic as Capuchin Tertiary Sisters of the Holy Family and our specific way of Life.

We share our faith and life in fraternal communities in the lifestyle of the Family of Nazareth, whom we take as model and patron of our day to day living making it possible for our founder's dream to become a reality: 'You must try to be intimately united among your selves, since this is the secret of strength."

The atmosphere of our community life is characterized by joyful cheerfulness and simplicity in our relationships, hospitality and a welcoming attitude towards all kinds of people and a great confidence in God's providence, which was also peculiar in our Father Founder.

Our faith is nourished in the Eucharist, center of our personal and community life, as well as in the Word of God, liturgical prayer and a deep and intimate relationship with Jesus Christ, the core of history, who invites us to contemplate the world attentively looking at the signs of the times (Capuchin Tertiary Sisters of the Holy Family n.d.).

8. Sisters of the Holy Cross (Menzingen)

The presence of the sisters in the communities helps people to live in harmony with one another. The ministries they are involved in are open to all people irrespective of race and religion. The main aim of the sisters is to work towards a 'holistic growth' of every person viz. physical, psychological and spiritual growth, which leads to the wellbeing of the person. This was made very evident during the major evacuation in the North, the sisters moved along with the people and lived as refugees with them. The sisters are present in the midst [of] broken people, patients, children, youth and aged irrespective of their race & religion, thus being messengers of peace and love (Sisters of the Holy Cross (Menzingen) 2015).

9. Secular Franciscan Order

The Secular Franciscan Order belongs to the Franciscan Family and is "formed by the organic union of all the Catholic fraternities, whose members, moved by the Holy Spirit, commit themselves through profession to live the Gospel after the manner of St. Francis in their Secular state following the Rule approved by the Church" (Const. 1,3). "The rule and life of the Secular Franciscans is this: to observe the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ by following the example of Saint Francis of Assisi, who made Christ the inspiration and the centre of his life with God and people.... They should devote themselves especially to careful reading of the gospel, going from gospel to life and life to the gospel" (Rule Article 4). … The Secular Franciscan Order is divided into Fraternities at various levels: local, regional, national and international. Each of these Fraternities is animated and guided by its Council and a Minister or President. The local Fraternity is "the basic unit of the whole Order and is a

visible sign of the Church, the community of love. This should be the privileged place for developing a sense of Church and the Franciscan vocation and for enlivening the apostolic life of its members" (Rule Article 22). The fraternity must offer to its members opportunities for coming together and collaborating through meetings to be held with as great a frequency as allowed by the situation and, with the involvement of all its members" (Constitutions 53,1) (Secular Franciscan Order n.d.).

Table 8-1: Franciscan Themes in the Above Congregational Sources

Theme	*Text (Extracted from the congregational websites above)*
Theological orientation	"follow[ing] Jesus Christ"; "dedicate[d] to God"; "radically evangelical life" (1)
	"constant conversion to a living God" (4)
	"[sisters] strongly experience that the Spirit of the Lord summons us to be with Him and to live His own style of life"; "great confidence in God's providence"; "deep and intimate relationship with Jesus Christ" (7)
	"to observe the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ" (9)
Relationships within community	"fraternal fellowship" (1)
	"fraternal spirit in our houses" (2)
	"Community life allows [the friar] the fraternal support and the connectedness to the human condition that broadens his perspective" (3)
	"We share our faith and life in fraternal communities in the lifestyle of the Family of Nazareth"; "atmosphere of our community life is characterized by joyful cheerfulness and simplicity in our relationships" (7)
	"The local fraternity … should be the privileged place for developing a sense of Church and the Franciscan vocation and for enlivening the apostolic life of its members"; "opportunities for coming together and collaborating through meetings … and with the involvement of all its members" (9)
Francis of Assisi	"lived the truth of the Gospels in a radical, revolutionary and uncompromising way"; "radical simplicity of [his life], … the mystical holiness of it and … the lyrical beauty of his love for nature and all that is in and around us" (5)
	"considered himself the last one among his brothers and the servant of all" (7)
	"made Christ the inspiration and the centre of his life with God and people" (9)
Relationship to Francis	"according to the form observed and proposed by St. Francis" (1)
	"closer to the original intentions of St. Francis?" (2)
	"Inspired by his ideals of fraternity and minority" (3)
	"follows the ideals and spirituality of Saint Francis of Assisi"; "The same [Franciscan] spirit and charism do operate in the lives and activities of the Brothers" (5)

	"To follow Jesus Christ as minor sisters, in the style of Francis of Assisi" (7)
	"following the example of Saint Francis of Assisi" (9)
Internal life	"spirit of prayer, devotion" (1)
	"stricter life of prayer and poverty … emphasis on penance and prayer"; "simplicity" (2)
	"to live the gift of a consecrated life as a continual offering upon the altar of the world" (4)
	"our faith is nourished in the Eucharist, center of our personal and community life, as well as in the Word of God, [and] liturgical prayer" (7)
	"moved by the Holy Spirit" (9)
External relationship	"living the gospel in the Church"; "witness of penance and minority"; "throughout the whole world"; "to preach reconciliation, peace and justice by their deeds"; "to show respect for creation" (1)
	"closeness to the people"; "fraternal spirit in our … apostolate" (2)
	"dedicated … to apostolic work"; "called by the spirit to serve the Church and humanity"; "Franciscan Charism with its characteristics of Fraternity, Minority and Conventuality"; "views the world and ministry in … incarnational terms" (3)
	"pastoral care within the parishes, acts of kindness for the needy, schools for the young, teaching and preaching, and missionary work"; "the gift of a consecrated life" (4)
	"every human being shares in the divine dignity [of belonging to one family of God]"; "no room for any division based on race, color, caste, nationality, community"; "whole of cosmos is bound together in a fraternal bond … [task of humans is to] to befriend [creation], respect and protect it" (5)
	"[sisters], like Francis, travel up and down the roads of 76 countries, throughout the five continents"; "[sisters] live Love and express it in multiple ways … strength of life, newness of the Gospel, passion, daring, risk, commitment for justice … interrogation, questioning, risk and choice, peace and reconciliation, offering and gift, consecration and prayer, new life and hope" (6)
	"to serve our brothers and sisters in the midst of the world"; "hospitality and a welcoming attitude towards all kinds of people"; (7)
	"The presence of the sisters in the communities helps people to live in harmony with one another"; "ministries they are involved in are open to all people irrespective of race and religion"; "being messengers of peace and love" (8)
	"devote themselves especially to careful reading of the gospel, going from gospel to life and life to the gospel" (9)

Appendix 9 Regression Tables for Chapter 8

Logistic Regression Analysis by Form of Peacemaking regressed on Franciscan Peace

Table 9-1: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Acting as Observer (Pre May 2009)regressed on Franciscan Peace, controlling for religious variables and Community Health(Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
FP1	-.76	.31	.47	.02*	-1.01	.42	.36	.02*				
FP2	1.54	.63	4.66	.01**	1.65	.70	5.21	.02*				
FP3	.26	.29	1.30	.36	.19	.36	1.21	.60				
FP4	.58	.33	1.78	.08	.76	.47	2.13	.11				
ttt	-.24	.11	.79	.03*	-.35	.16	.71	.03*				
ftr	-.07	.08	.93	.37	-.11	.09	.90	.23				
xenos	-.22	.13	.89	.38	.01	.15	1.01	.97				
CH	-.08	.07	.93	.25	-.10	.08	.91	.21				
RS	1.70	.87	5.50	.05*	1.21	1.34	3.35	.37				
Ed	-.33	.32	.72	.31	-.14	.38	.87	.70				
Age					-.13	.30	.88	.67				
Prov-N					.00	.00	.00	.90				
-E					-.83	1.43	.43	.56				
-C					-.71	1.30	.49	.58				
-W					-1.46	1.84	.23	.43				
-O					-1.50	2.02	.22	.46				
Loc					.65	.77	1.91	.40				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	<.01				.10				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.42				.44							
HL	.26				.55							
n	92				92							

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of : FP1-FP4 = Franciscan Peacemaking questions.

Table 9-2: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Education (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Franciscan Peace, controlling for religious variables and Community Health(Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
FP1	.49	.24	1.63	.04*	.34	.27	1.41	.19				
FP2	-1.54	.47	.22	<.01**	-1.49	.54	.23	.01**				
FP3	-.08	.23	.93	.74	-.30	.29	.74	.29				
FP4	-.25	.26	.78	.35	-.31	.32	.74	.34				
ttt	<-.01	.08	1.00	.98	-.05	.11	.95	.66				
ftr	.01	.07	1.01	.85	<.01	.08	1.00	.96				
xenos	.33	.12	1.40	<.01**	.42	.16	1.53	.01**				
CH	.10	.06	1.11	.06	.09	.06	1.10	.13				
RS	-.34	.67	.71	.61	-.32	1.04	.73	.76				
Ed	.41	.24	1.51	.09	.77	.34	2.16	.02*				
Age					.16	.23	1.17	.50				
Prov-N								.39				
-E					1.41	1.12	4.10	.21				
-C					-.08	.96	.93	.94				
-W					1.79	1.84	5.97	.33				
-O					-1.86	1.51	.16	.22				
Loc					-.80	.58	.45	.17				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	<.01				.01				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.39				.47							
HL	.51				.78							
n	92				92							

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of : FP1-FP4 = Franciscan Peacemaking questions.

Table 9-3: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Facilitating Understanding (May 2009 to May 2013)regressed on Franciscan Peace, controlling for religious variables and Community Health (Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
FP1	-.04	.22	.96	.87	-.17	.30	.84	.57				
FP2	-.60	.43	.55	.17	-1.37	.60	.25	.02*				
FP3	.31	.25	1.36	.22	.33	.31	1.40	.29				
FP4	.57	.27	1.76	.04*	1.09	.46	2.97	.02*				
ttt	-.26	.09	.77	<.01**	-.17	.10	.84	.09				
ftr	<-.01	.06	1.00	.99	.02	.07	1.02	.74				
xenos	.17	.11	1.19	.11	.18	.14	1.20	.18				
CH	.02	.05	1.02	.75	.02	.06	1.02	.70				
RS	.01	.65	1.02	.99	-.24	.99	.79	.81				
Ed	.40	.23	1.50	.07	.33	.28	1.40	.23				
Age					.02	.22	1.02	.93				
Prov-N								.11				
-E					2.20	1.17	9.00	.06				
-C					.79	1.01	2.21	.43				
-W					4.17	1.89	64.99	.03*				
-O					-.74	1.50	.47	.62				
Loc					.11	.57	1.11	.85				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	.04				.02				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.30				.45							
HL	.59				.65							
n	92				92							

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of : FP1-FP4 = Franciscan Peacemaking questions.

Table 9-4: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Nonviolent Action (Pre May 2009) regressed on Franciscan Peace, controlling for religious variables and Community Health(Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
FP1	-.64	.29	.53	.03*	-1.13	.51	.32	.03*				
FP2	.09	.43	1.09	.84	.28	.70	1.33	.69				
FP3	.87	.38	2.39	.02*	1.76	.64	5.79	<.01**				
FP4	.07	.29	1.07	.82	.29	.54	1.34	.59				
ttt	-.22	.10	.80	.03*	-.37	.19	.69	.05*				
ftr	.02	.09	1.02	.86	-.03	.11	.97	.80				
xenos	-.02	.11	.98	.88	.06	.17	1.07	.71				
CH	.05	.06	1.05	.46	.01	.08	1.01	.94				
RS	1.02	.81	2.76	.21	.48	1.63	1.61	.77				
Ed	.06	.28	1.06	.84	-.26	.37	.77	.49				
Age					.19	.31	1.21	.53				
Prov-N								.15				
-E					-3.11	2.13	.04	.15				
-C					1.50	1.34	4.50	.26				
-W					3.79	1.91	44.36	.05*				
-O					.23	2.41	1.26	.92				
Loc					-.07	.80	.94	.93				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	.10				.05				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.30				.50							
HL	.09				.01							
n	92				92							

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of : FP1-FP4 = Franciscan Peacemaking questions.

Table 9-5: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Dialogue with Other Christians (Current—as at May 2013) regressed on Franciscan Peace, controlling for religious variables and Community Health(Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
FP1	-.30	.22	.75	.17	-.34	.27	.71	.20	-.53	.29	.59	.07
FP2	-.20	.34	.82	.55	-.35	.44	.70	.43	-.30	.46	.74	.52
FP3	.70	.27	2.01	.01**	.66	.30	1.93	.03*	.70	.33	2.01	.04*
FP4	.17	.23	1.19	.46	.30	.34	1.35	.38	.23	.38	1.26	.54
ttt	-.10	.07	.90	.16	-.12	.10	.89	.24	-.11	.11	.90	.34
ftr	-.09	.06	.91	.16	-.13	.08	.88	.09	-.12	.08	.89	.11
xenos	.19	.10	1.21	.05*	.27	.13	1.31	.04*	.31	.14	1.36	.03*
CH	.05	.05	1.05	.33	.06	.06	1.07	.28	.08	.07	1.08	.24
RS	.31	.65	1.36	.64	.10	.94	1.10	.92	.14	1.09	1.15	.90
Ed	.15	.21	1.16	.47	.36	.27	1.44	.18	.30	.29	1.36	.30
Age					-.39	.25	.67	.12	-.47	.28	.63	.09
Prov-N								.30				.48
-E					1.19	1.10	3.29	.28	1.28	1.17	3.59	.27
-C					-1.37	1.15	.25	.23	-.92	1.39	.40	.51
-W					-1.21	1.48	.30	.41	-.91	1.64	.40	.58
-O					-.12	1.23	.89	.92	-.08	1.64	.92	.96
Loc					.53	.64	1.70	.41	.56	.73	1.75	.44
Mbrs									-.32	.46	.73	.49
Eth-S												.51
-T									1.26	1.18	3.52	.29
-B									2.44	2.18	11.47	.26
-O									1.18	1.10	3.24	.28
Tests of model fit												
OS	.07				.06				.08			
R^2	.26				.40				.46			
HL	.26				.36				.07			
n	92				92				92			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of : FP1-FP4 = Franciscan Peacemaking questions.

Table 9-6: Self-reported participation in Spiritual Activities (pre May 2009) regressed on Franciscan Peace, controlling for religious variables and Community Health(Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*P*
FP1	-.49	.23	.62	.03*	-.68	.30	.51	.02*	-.57	.38	.56	.13
FP2	.49	.38	1.63	.20	.23	.49	1.26	.63	-.26	.70	.77	.71
FP3	.04	.22	1.04	.90	-.28	.26	.76	.28	-.46	.34	.63	.18
FP4	.51	.25	1.66	.04*	.51	.35	1.66	.15	.45	.46	1.57	.33
ttt	-.21	.08	.81	<.01**	-.19	.11	.83	.08	-.40	.17	.67	.02*
ftr	.02	.06	1.02	.79	.04	.07	1.04	.57	.10	.09	1.10	.27
xenos	.06	.09	1.06	.52	.15	.12	1.16	.22	.36	.22	1.44	.10
CH	.08	.05	1.08	.11	.09	.05	1.09	.10	.09	.07	1.09	.18
RS	.47	.65	1.60	.47	1.92	1.06	6.79	.07	2.00	1.30	7.41	.12
Ed	.19	.22	1.21	.38	.23	.26	1.26	.38	.40	.34	1.49	.24
Age					.47	.24	1.60	.06	.48	.27	1.62	.08
Prov-N								.10				.10
-E					.74	1.12	2.09	.51	.11	1.31	1.12	.93
-C					-1.66	.94	.19	.08	-2.90	1.43	.05	.04*
-W					-1.51	1.48	.22	.31	-4.77	2.47	.01	.05*
-O					-3.18	1.62	.04	.05*	-4.37	2.42	.01	.07
Loc					.03	.60	1.03	.96	.45	.79	1.57	.57
Mbrs									.10	.48	1.10	.84
Eth-S												.23
-T									-1.40	1.35	.25	.30
-B									.64	1.95	1.89	.74
-O									-3.65	1.87	.03	.05*
Tests of model fit												
OS	.03				.02				.01			
R^2	.30				.44				.56			
HL	.90				.39				.57			
n	92				92				92			

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of : FP1-FP4 = Franciscan Peacemaking questions.

Table 9-7: Self-reported participation in Peacemaking by Spiritual Activities (May 2009 to May 2013) regressed on Franciscan Peace, controlling for religious variables and Community Health(Model 1) and Sociodemographic Conditions (Models 2 and 3)

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Var.	B	S.E.	Beta	*P*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*	B	S.E.	Beta	*p*
FP1	-.51	.23	.60	.03*	-.48	.26	.62	.06				
FP2	.23	.36	1.26	.52	.23	.40	1.26	.56				
FP3	.26	.23	1.30	.25	.31	.26	1.36	.24				
FP4	.32	.23	1.38	.17	.29	.29	1.34	.31				
ttt	-.28	.09	.75	<.01**	-.28	.10	.76	.01**				
ftr	-.02	.06	.98	.67	-.03	.06	.97	.64				
xenos	.16	.10	1.17	.10	.14	.10	1.14	.19				
CH	.03	.05	1.03	.48	.03	.05	1.03	.51				
RS	-.18	.64	.83	.77	-.64	.87	.53	.46				
Ed	.07	.22	1.08	.74	.03	.24	1.03	.90				
Age					-.23	.21	.80	.27				
Prov-N								.95				
-E					.59	1.07	1.81	.58				
-C					.42	.89	1.52	.64				
-W					.82	1.25	2.28	.51				
-O					.64	1.24	1.89	.61				
Loc					-.19	.52	.83	.72				
Mbrs												
Eth-S												
-T												
-B												
-O												
Tests of model fit												
OS	.04				.32				*No stable solution*			
R^2	.29				.29							
HL	.11				.12							
n	92				92							

Key as for Table 5-1 (p. 338), with addition of : FP1-FP4 = Franciscan Peacemaking questions.